Volume XLIV] *October, 1938* [*Number 1*

The American Historical Review

CONTINUITIES IN HISTORY

I

CONVINCING arguments are hardly to be looked for in an essay upon the influences and conditions bringing some degree of linkage and expectedness to history; for opinions will depend on temperament and the slant of individual interest in different phases of human life. A writer is likely to win approval only from people more or less like-minded with himself. And with regard to so many-sided a topic, other views may be as valid as the argument contained in the following pages. Even the prospect of the discussion recalls difficulties in the conception of cause, which philosophers since the days of Hume, as well as our recent physicists, have been trying to get around. I hope to avoid them by speaking of "necessary antecedent", "needful preparation", or "enabling or suitable conditions". These terms, when applied to history, carry no implication of strict determinism. They leave place for the action of free and living agencies by reason of whose intervention any historical event appears as a composite and imperfectly predictable result.

Grounded in human nature, the thoughts and acts of men are roused and shaped by their physical and spiritual environment. Men are also moved to think and feel and act by their heritage from the past, which is part of their education and contributes to their knowledge. Save for its discipline and teaching they would not have the thoughts they entertain or a good part of their feelings; nor could they construct or create whatever they are engaged upon. The influence of the past blends with that of the working and insistent environment; but neither one nor the other, nor their combined effect, wholly constrains the emerging present upon which they act. For in every present the energies of living men are apt to fashion to new forms whatever affects them or comes within the circle of their interest.

The growth of dogmatic Christianity illustrates these principles. It

rested on the teachings of Jesus and his Apostles, as understood and accepted by their adherents and those who came after them. Current ways of feeling and thinking in the eastern Mediterranean affected and became a part of the interpretation and manner of acceptance of these teachings. Belonging to a notably reasoning world, the early Christians sought to understand their faith in a manner acceptable to their reason. More specifically the will to rationalize the Faith and the method of its rational formulation came from the later cosmopolitan phases of Greek philosophy.

But antecedents and accompanying conditions did not create the Nicene formulation or wholly determine what it was to be. The creeds were gradually formed by the Greek and Latin Fathers, from Tertullian on through Origen, Athanasius, and Augustine. These men were affected by current thinking and worked in the medium of their own preparation and accepted past, which gave substance and method to their thought. But they were constructive minds and not mere recipients of what they used. Nor did they reproduce the past either piece by piece or in its whole composite nature. Even what they accepted as the divine word they shaped in their understanding.

The same may be said of the cumulative scholastic re-formulation of the patristic achievement. Its apex, the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas, was the work of that great schoolman, although he could not have composed it without the aid of all that made up his education and his past, including the substantial philosophy of Aristotle, which the Fathers had not used.

II

Recalling the phrases "needful antecedents" and "enabling conditions", I would now say that "continuities" refer to physical conditions and the persistent human qualities which have shaped the role of mankind upon the earth. The activities of these qualities fluctuate and yet exert influences more or less constant throughout the succession of forms produced or assumed by them. Although our continuities reach back to include whatever has contributed to set *homo sapiens* upon the stage, we shall be occupied mainly with human tendencies and active faculties.

It may be well to start with the primordial fact that the universe remotely and permissively and the sun more directly have produced and still maintain an earth suited to the sustenance of living organisms. Branching from this base, our continuities would consist, first, of the

physical environment of land and air and water existing and operative beneath and within the living garment of plants and animals. Next, the plants and animals afford a ceaselessly active and formative environment for each other. This living system, which embraces the human race, maintains itself through universal and reciprocal consumption, assimilation, and adaptation. Never stable, always undergoing change, it is an immortal living continuity.

The elemental and organic orders of continuity carry ingredients that enter human nature and qualities which men share with other animals. Yet there is place for a third order consisting of the more characteristic qualities of mankind. These act with some volitional freedom and unpredictability. Constantly active, they manifest themselves in a variety of forms that change. And, more than all other animals and plants, men hasten the changes in their threefold environment of elemental nature, plants and animals, and other tribes of men. The whole story of the earth's use and consumption, the action of men upon plants and animals and upon other human groups, the increase of population and growth of nations, the encroachment of cities upon the country, and countless other facts attest the effects of human agencies upon human environments.

Organisms have many ways of conforming means and ends with respect to their environment and within themselves. They are individual systems of assimilation and adaptation. Acts of an organism normally make for its benefit. Each incident of functioning is teleological, has an aim. A functional act may be said to carry on and have a quality of continuity. It is never merely in and of itself, but has linkage through its aim and the aims of its antecedents. This teleological linkage extends to the relations among organisms and reaches backward indefinitely. Much of the functioning of the human organism has a limited physiological aim. In conscious action the aim enlarges and may extend beyond the organism in space and time and consideration of consequences.

If the functioning of organisms is aimful, one is tempted to find a continuing purposiveness running through the whole process and even directing it. Such a purpose cannot be merely antecedent to the incidents of its fulfillment but continues as a factor within the scheme of things. The object need not be an end ultimately to be reached in time. It may lie within the process and its character be inferred from what is observed. The evidence of such a purpose seems to me everywhere, though many minds are closed to it. My own conviction is

built up from my life's experience, a synthetic conclusion doubtless colored by individual temperament.[1] In turn my thinking is unified through this conviction, which nevertheless is partly intuitive since its universality transcends the range of concrete evidence. I go further and call it the divine purpose and am willing to look on my conviction as an act of faith.

I find an analogy in the botanist's or zoologist's acceptance of evolution. His total knowledge and his reason convince him that the succession of organisms from the simpler to the most complex has come about through what he calls evolution. He cannot define the process and is far from knowing the manner of its action or how it has taken place, though he discerns contributing factors. His conviction goes beyond definite evidence and is thus a faith, like my belief in a divine purpose. This kind of faith is not limited to such large matters but enters generally into our knowledge. A partly intuitive conviction ordinarily caps and concludes our acceptances or opinions and points our action. No grasp of fact hangs on a single reason. All sorts of previous cognizance take part and yet may prove inadequate for the novel occasion. The decisive intuition comes from the man's total fashioning experience with all the engendered impulses and prejudices.

But to return: if the aim realizes itself within the process, the process may contain its own fulfillment. We are not obliged to envisage some imagined end beyond the process and its time limits. Yet that it carries aim and value within and for itself does not preclude a further eventual end. The visible process may not be the end-all. Growth of mind or spirit through evolving stages is felt by some to indicate extension or survival beyond the physical ingredients.

III

The aimfulness in the conduct of organisms enters the continuities of human history. The latter, through their larger scope and freedom, further exemplify the causal efficacy of the past and the tendency of every antecedent to enter and become part of what it helps to bring about. Past events are never merely antecedent but carry on as factors of the succeeding present and contribute to its energies, conduct, and achievement. Enabling conditions resulting from many lines of antecedents act together in each present.

[1] Such a conviction may be called a "conceptual scheme", like "evolution". A conceptual scheme tends to unify thinking.

Except through poetic metaphor or in extreme metaphysics, the processes of inorganic nature are not given psychic qualities. But such are part of living organisms. Doubtful in plants, rudimentary in the humbler animals, no one can say just when and where they became operative. Bound up with them, the beginnings of consciousness offer a like baffling question. But consciousness as well as psychic qualities are evident in mammals; and a striking feature of mammalian evolution has been the growth of the organs through which psychic qualities are manifested, and eventually the higher phases of mentality.

Physical and physiological elements load the prehuman past. But mind was there as well. No need to say that the contents of human history have always been spiritual as well as physical and that both enter into historical continuity.[2] The building up and maintenance of societies are a universal feature, and the qualities that enable men to live advantageously together are largely of the mind. The progress of mankind falls in with the pointings of spiritual growth and cannot but conform to the apparent immanent purpose of the factors working together in the evolution of the race.

In human history (as throughout all antecedent evolution) different strains of continuity interlace and pervade each other. An indefinite number of partial causes or enabling conditions unite in the coming to pass of any event. It is not easy to separate them into independent agencies or appraise their several cogencies, for they move through mutual reactions to a convergent result, which may nevertheless contain disruptive elements temporarily brought together.

A directly causative section of the past, which obviously continues in the present, is the race of men or quasi-men and organisms passing into such. The continuity of the race approaches an apparent stability in the transmission of constant or very slowly changing qualities. But one cannot leave out a single factor. Again, nature's processes carry on the past apparently with lavish waste, throwing out a thousand seeds or eggs for one that germinates. Human history likewise carries on its conserving economy through recessions and catastrophes.

While individuals appear as the units of historical continuity, each has been a continuity since birth and is linked with the ranges of antecedents which have made its life possible.[3] They may hand themselves on through their children or the influence of their acts. The

[2] With me the word "spiritual" is broader than "mental" and includes the feelings and emotions which are not palpably of the body.

[3] See my article "Continuity and Survival", *Atlantic Monthly*, Jan., 1937.

latter have aim and value in the doing and continuity in their effect: for instance, a heroic deed, or the making of a work of art, or the composition of a book.

IV

Life holds the aimfulness of creative evolution. It is the trunk that branches and flowers in the activities of men. Each individual presses to fulfill his nature and feel it to the full, as when he satisfies his hunger or sex lust, adorns his body, slays for very rage or to show himself foremost and win his group's acclaim. Fame will extend his life and deeds. The urge to self-fulfillment is in the man of intellect as well, poet, philosopher, scientist, each moving along the path of his faculties and vocation. Nor has such a one lost the desire to show himself the man he is.

The acts of men are instinctive, habitual, passionate, or consciously intended. The urge of life is in them all. Yet by reason of life's unfailing spontaneity, each present moment works a change in whatever comes to it. Because it is alive, a society or an individual acts in its own way upon every proffered influence. Always undergoing change, the physical and spiritual experience which has formed the race and become part of its faculties passes on, together with the material civilization, which is the shell. But since buildings, aqueducts, and cornfields have effective being only in their use, their transmission hangs upon the human factors. All stand and fall together. If monumental structures remain for the admiration of future ages, that hardly renews the life of these substantial ghosts.

Judging by noise and flare, the greater part of what thus passes on has arisen from material needs. Life in the flesh, with its vehemence, greed, and rancor, holds the stage, makes wars, builds houses, overthrows societies. It is partly fashioned by conceptions of the mind. Evolution is always pointing to the last. But mentality never looks big. Human life is so wrapt up in the needs and passions of the animal that only a warped and driven course seems left to mind. Yet mind leads in survival value and survival power. Its efficiency tends to center in a few. All civilization is an affair of remnants, through whom pass the grains of truth that fit the ways of life imperishably: grains of goodness, of aloofness from the ways of crass destruction.

Human beings differ in strength of volition and the control of their lives: the spontaneous self-directing power of the human personality. Often the press of circumstances seems to hem in a life or, much less

frequently, to favor its freer expansion. Obviously most lives are fashioned by the suggestions or compulsions of environment. A minority reach out beyond. A high degree of conceptual and sometimes actual freedom is his who forms a comprehensive plan of life and is able to pursue it.

Life's energies and fundamental impulses manifest themselves in forms that pass, yet not without effect. Discontinuity in history is an illusion. More real is the overlapping of thought and feeling through the succession of forms, which have effective continuity in their influence upon what follows them. The human faculties expressing themselves in these forms are affected by the experience and discipline, and press on to create what is never a sheer duplicate and may appear quite different from its preparatory antecedents. And the forms themselves, although products of the past, may continue active in the present. Such living forms are the laws and customs of our society and government, and indeed the whole structure and content of our culture. All this is the formative part of our present as well as the material upon which its energies work fruitfully. Thus the passing forms share in the continuity of the faculties of which they are the manifestation.

In this way each phase of any human institution, social, legal, or political, has part in the genesis of its successor, however different that may show itself. The successor may appear as a reaction against a way of living or social adjustment that the society has tired of. But whatever arises is still related to former experience and the abilities thereby acquired. Examples of all kinds strew human history; they obviously make up the story of institutions. The British parliament is an outstanding illustration. Less patently convincing may be the Roman republic in its lessening efficiency from the time of the Gracchi, with the impotent fury of its final period passing through dictatorships to the establishment of an imperial rule where still flitted the ghosts of republican institutions. The empire took form from these as much as from pressing exigencies.

Like principles appear in the figurative arts and indeed in the progression of all products of human ingenuity; even in the humbler utensils of domestic living or machinery where the discarded expedient brings the new improvement. The earlier pattern and the discipline gained by its production affect the nature of its supplanter. A similar combination of enabling influence works more subtly in sheer intellectual activity. The conduct of the rational faculties, expressing themselves in successive modes of thought, makes up the history of philos-

ophy. Or for another example, the tendency to rationalize in apologetic allegories unites with those serpent forms to produce strange children.[4]

All such effects and linkages are strengthened by the force of habit and the drag of custom. Habit, whether mental or manual, gives body to the impulse to think, feel, and behave in well-worn grooves. The accepted fitness of constantly recurring notions and the utility of actions oft repeated, and so made easier, tend to prevent scrutiny. Custom seems to imply the loyalty of conduct to venerated motives. It holds to the old ways, disliking and fearing change. In their very nature, habit and custom are strong conserving continuities.

Imitation is allied with them. It is instinctive in young animals. Fawns follow the cautious doe with riveted attention and imitate her every movement for safety's sake. Imitation is habitual with children and an efficient means of their education. Through it come speech and wiser conduct. It soon discloses a variety of motives. There may be emulation in a child imitating another's play. Youths and maidens are moved to keep in fashion and emulate an admired rival. Vanity and the desire to shine have entered. In the arts and crafts pupils imitate a teacher to gain his skill; from ethical motives disciples imitate a holy man. In such cases, though insinct or habit survive, imitation has become a part of rational conduct.

Imitation is not originative or progressive in itself. Whether it is a conservative influence depends on what is imitated. To follow innovations either blindly or upon consideration is not conservative. Yet, with these provisos, imitative thought and conduct may be put with habit and custom among the unprogressive continuities in history. Even beyond the range of their influence, through all provinces of desire and endeavor there is connection and causal sequence, sometimes through reaction or repulsion. The earlier phase may be a springboard to jump from, and the jump reaches that much further. Cur-

[4] For decency's sake thoughtful Greeks, even in the fifth century B.C., turned the scandalous doings of the Homeric gods into natural myths, a method accepted by the religious conservatism of the Stoics. The Hellenizing Jew Philo used allegory to make Genesis a vehicle of Greek moral philosophy at the opening of the Christian era. Through further and new-found allegories the Fathers made the contents of the Old Testament prefigurative of the truth of Christ and softened its crudities to suit the pagan conscience. In the Middle Ages, when apologetic needs were no longer pressing, allegorical interpretation was taken as a matter of course. It was applied to the Mass as well as to the parts and ornaments of cathedrals; it was used in political argument and pervaded popular medieval literature (*Roman de la Rose*). Symbolical meanings were accepted as expressing the deepest truth of God's purpose in creation. See *The Mediaeval Mind*, chs. xxviii and xxix.

rents of influence are not dependent on the survival of individuals. Rather they keep fresh and vivid because old men and women die, while young minds and bodies carry on with the energy of youth its enterprise and its imagination: "Oh! brave new world", cries Miranda. " 'Tis new to thee", replies Prospero.

V

The living body is a functional process which feels itself most surely in its pains and strident needs. Its cravings urge on the organism's psychic phase, which is the mind. That also is an activity: in functioning it is itself. Action animates and delights it. In this lies the mind's exhaustless happiness. It is always looking for the interesting and the apt, which when found stings and pricks it on. Its history is the story of a quest as manifold as comprehensive. Each perception, each rational insight, each leap of intuition, every desire with its love of what it feels the need for—all are releases of the energy inherent in the mind. Also they open new vistas of the quest. And when the mind looks within, it may discover that it has itself pointed the search and shaped the sought-for fulfillment to the form of an imagined best. The quest takes many paths, along which the mind is urged by its impulses, its modes, its faculties. The paths are the mind's attributes in action.

The unceasing activities of human minds constitute the spiritual continuity of history. But a society has no common mind any more than a common body. Mental activity is always that of an individual. Yet its manifestations may be drawn forth and shaped by the common need of men to live together and by currents of like thoughts and feelings producing uniformity of concern and temper.

VI

Within the main trunk of life the urge of sex is a vital continuity. Not merely does it propagate mankind, but its repercussions and emotions, and sentiments flowering in love, prompt noble as well as violent conduct and animate all forms of poetry and art. No need to touch this boundless story. We pass to another main continuity of history, the manifold urge to form and maintain societies. Though the basis be the body's needs, there enters the impulse of the human spirit to profit from fellow feeling and intercourse.

Mankind's responding efforts make a large part of history. They have been credited to the "social instinct". Certainly man is or has

become a social animal. But the endeavor for a communal life has had a variety of motives. The behavior of other animals is indicative. Some sort of living together is the rule; the solitary life is difficult and rare. With ants and bees co-operation has resulted in specializing not only their behavior but their structure. With lives reduced to fixed functions, they have become sheer parts of a social organism.[5] But in the case of birds and mammals the formation of groups seems to depend on the particular need of protection and the manner of getting food. Migratory birds flock when migrating, but not during the mating season. Herbivorous quadrupeds herd together for safety. Birds of prey live and hunt singly or in couples, which is the way with lions, tigers, and leopards. Wild dogs and wolves, but not foxes, hunt in packs. Among the primates, baboons and monkeys may live in troops, but the great apes, who can take care of themselves, appear not to form groups beyond the family and pass part of their lives alone. Thus these apes who are nearest to man show scant communal life, and a survey of other animals hardly points to any universal "social instinct".

To what extent our apelike or manlike ancestors lived in companies is not clear. Different circumstances would breed different habits. But *homo sapiens* at an early stage somehow realized the advantages of groups for hunting and defense and later for a division of labor. Life in communities would foster habits of mutual dependence and promote the growth of social qualities. At all events the trend toward some kind of association has been universal. The particular social forms spring from and again produce the character of the group—the complex of feeling and intelligence. They arise as well from the impacts of environment, natural and human. It would be rash to ascribe preponderant effect to one or the other of these factors since they are interdependent. Changes in the human or natural elements will modify the social structure, and new needs may pattern it anew, but the urge to maintain a society works on within those changing forms.

The qualities promoted through social living look to the satisfaction of the individual as a member of society. They would enhance his life by attracting the favor of his fellows. Then comes the wish to direct or otherwise influence the conduct of the social complex. Vanity and emulation are examples of those qualities which crave appreciation, praise, and sympathy. Upon their gratification the man responds with affectionate esteem and sympathy. Such qualities are part of the

[5] The caste system of India points in a like direction; but no caste has become incapable of sharing in the propagation of the race.

impulse and desire of every individual to exalt and express himself, a desire which cannot but be social in its fulfillment. A man does not talk merely to make known his thought or feeling or intention. Usually he wishes to show the sort of man he is. There is feeling in the impulse to express oneself, and feeling accompanies every communication. Clearly the urgency of self-expression and the desire to impart one's thoughts and feelings are among the continuities of history.

Perhaps owing to some pervasive similarity both in physical environment and human nature, certain types of social organization constantly recur, especially with respect to the exercise of authority in a society. Conditions of flight compel migrating geese to have a leader and keep to a certain pattern while flying. Somehow the strongest wolf becomes the leader of the hunt. The great apes apparently have no leaders, and leadership is hard to find among primitive men. It emerges with the development of the social structure. Less pronounced in small primitive groups, it reaches a harsh absoluteness in larger aggregates, and not merely among savages. Ancient records of civilization disclose the king or pharaoh supreme, though his power necessarily finds limitations in military and executive requirements. Moreover assassination lurks, and revolt may overthrow the tyrant. This fairly universal and absolute kingship includes the office of high priest, who has paramount authority to placate and move the god, for the efficiency of social organization is linked to gods and demons and the means of moving or restraining them. Everywhere ceremonies raise the king above his subjects and guard his royal high-priestly functions.

Kingships, tyrannies, dictatorships have so prevailed in history as to lead one to regard them as an essential feature of the urge to maintain a social structure, and so as a historical continuity. Yet they have been broken into by repeated attempts to establish other ways of ordering a people through a ruling class or the people themselves. Springing from impulses of self-assertion, this countertendency has not been marked in Asiatic countries, where the insistance of the individual is weak. It sprang to life in the old Greek cities, mightily proved itself in the Roman republic, and has persisted in England. It may foster sentiments of social freedom and equality.

These countereffforts may aim at democracy and representative government, with universal suffrage as their ideal. But history seems to show, for instance in the story of Rome, that the more widely authority is distributed among the people the less effectively it will be exercised. A frequent result is reversion to a personal autocratic leadership, in

practice if not in theory. The only lasting endeavor for a liberal or representative government is found in Great Britain and the nations springing from her. Perhaps Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries should be added. We in the United States, nurtured in this liberal tradition, do not realize the limited area of its successful operation. We regard what has taken place in continental Europe since the World War as deplorable occurrences, almost accidents. A clearer view shows how unprepared and unfit for a representative or liberal order were the Germans or the quite dissimilar Italians, not to mention Spain and Russia, whose incapacities for self-government are as different as they are insurmountable.

It seems to be another tendency of societies to gravitate into classes. One may imagine these to have arisen in the obscure past through the inequalities of individuals shown in diversities of temper, aptitude, and faculty, tending to shake down into class distinctions. Environment and circumstance also have worked their differentiating role. Part of the people may have come from elsewhere, perhaps brought in as slaves. A nation usually is a conglomerate. The growth of special characteristics in each class may be traced, while the origins baffle us. But in view of the almost universal existence of classes one hesitates to ascribe them to any particular diversity of circumstance and situation.

VII

Although human qualities do not always work in harmony, they all contribute to the making and undoing of societies. Religion, an unfailing element in the social effort, likewise draws upon all sides of human nature. The religious impulse and imagination may sound in feeling, yet the religious mind is not indifferent to other modes of understanding fact. A synthesis of thought and feeling takes form from the man's experience and courts the support of any pertinent evidence.

Religion was mentioned with kingship. Properly enough, since the want of a king is related to religious longing. Self-reliance comes tardily to men. While the primitive uses his own strength and quick perceptions, he is beset with fear of things about him. Such baneful motives as he feels within him he imputes to animals and trees or imagines indwelling spirits. All of which, with his felt need of protection, is as natural to him as the cast of a stone. Discrimination slowly brings some order to this crass confusion. But the longing for aid persists. Homer's heroes sense the help or opposition of a god at every step. Hopes and fears regarding superhuman beings pervade all history.

Man's dependent linkage with them makes the religious frame, whatever features the picture within it may take on.

But there is more to religion. Man's world from the beginning is shadowed in mystery. He is always hankering after the veiled significance. This is a religious phase that quickly turns visible things to symbols and devises allegories. Progress lies in a subtler and generalized conception of what is beyond sense. Among capable peoples thoughts of the gods unify. The gods become God. Thus the religious intelligence works its way to an idea of divine order and control, which is never the naked creature of reason but is clothed and colored by feeling. Intuition, emotion, reverence, and sometimes love give wings of faith to the understanding. The sense of God and the divine control may take shape as belief in a benevolent providence, which in turn may become intimately personal in its loving care of every man and woman and prove the salvation of the responsive soul. It was the historical office of Christianity to bring to pass this revelation of the divine and human heart.

It is hard to say how much the earliest stages of religion had to do with the behavior of men toward each other. Yet as tribal life gives rise to common interests and requires adjustments, religion becomes tribal and concerns itself with conduct. It has regard for the social order and sets its sanction on proper social behavior. Only in society can the individual complete his nature. Likewise through concern for society and the right conduct of its members, religion wins through to its noblest forms.

Animal sacrifices have been a common means of propitiating the gods. More spiritual conceptions of the divine bring other thoughts of reconcilement, as it is perceived that God desires justice rather than sacrifice. Divine favor rests with righteous houses. So religion and ethics advance together. Both lay stress upon motive and intent, and thought sets itself to distinguish the better and the rational from the irrational and worse. But discrimination is impressed with desire. The eager aim presents itself as a good reason for the act—a principle covering impulsive, thoughtless acts and those of conscious purpose. The desire and the aim tend to justify the act. There is little intentionally wrong conduct among men, since everyone is apt to think his action justified. This applies only too obviously to acts of violence in social excitement. Nor is it far from the opinion of Socrates and Plato that no one does wrong knowingly, or even from the words of Jesus, "Father forgive them for they know not what they do."

But I should make another approach to this conclusion. Aim and

endeavor inhere in life itself: life is endeavor. Its aim must be at what is felt or deemed desirable—perhaps mistakenly. Biologically there is no evil aim. The principle of endeavor, which is a main continuity of history, brings a leaven of reconciliation to the opposite aims of different individuals. The element of endeavor, which is life, was in them all.

Thus humanity, moved by impressions of the physical world, turns to beliefs that are termed religious. Ethical discrimination proceeds. These phases of feeling and mentality, though manifested in forms that change and pass, constitute historical continuities.

VIII

The arts and crafts are part of human conduct. They also are a morality, though their aim at what is fit and excellent may be limited to the object in hand, for the tendency of endeavor is to do its best—bring its aim to full attainment. This is an inherent principle of craftsmanship. In primitive man it produces improvement in his handmade tools. The earliest pots are crude but the tendency to improve them irresistible: bulges are reduced, curves perfected. The pot becomes more useful, more fit, more pleasing to handle and look at. Very soon it will be intentionally beautified with streaks of pigment. An element of beauty exists in all efficiency; to make this element more pointed through decoration seems also an inherent and immortal impulse in mankind.

The desire to make objects beautiful becomes a dominant motive in the higher ranges of things makeable by the human hand and spirit. It is the inspiration and may be the end and goal of the fine arts. Craftsmanship must keep its practical aim: an architect must bear in mind the purpose of the building. But the building may be clothed with ornament, and properly so long as its usefulness is not impaired. If it have a spiritual purpose, this may aptly be carried to explicit expression, as in the sculpture and painted glass of a cathedral.

Sculpture and painting, even when not serving a practical use, hold to the principle of efficiency in the presentation of whatever may be the subject, that is, they keep to the delineation of the subject itself, which shall not be overladen or obscured or defiled by distracting adornments or accessories. This gives the work of art unity, power, and the final charm of achievement termed beauty. A like principle marks the excellence of poetry. In great poetry, as in great plastic art, unity is equivalent to the ideal. For the ideal is unity attained by omitting

whatever is irrelevant to the event or the feeling or the character to be set forth. The lyric will admit nothing impairing its pattern of tone and feeling; the drama will reject whatever distracts attention from its compact plot; and broad as properly may be the epic, it tends to keep to the current and temper of its narrative. These observations may apply also to the excellence of musical compositions.

The arts are modes of significant endeavor and human self-expression. In their ceaseless pursuit of the fit, the efficient, the beautiful, they belong among the continuities of history. No need to characterize their end as the attainment of the beautiful and good. Each of these time-honored terms is a synthesis, transcending analysis or unsuited to its methods.

IX

The motives and endeavors which more especially carry out man's intellectual nature are still to be spoken of. One may place them under intellectual curiosity and the rationalizing faculty. The latter is more universal. Should it be regarded as the tendency to rationalize or the faculty of rationalization? The two phrases have much the same meaning inasmuch as mind is altogether an activity and should not be divided into faculties except for convenience of speech. It is the nature of mind to use its powers. Among them is reason, which tends to exert itself as part of mind and may be regarded either as a tendency or a faculty.

The rational faculty has no special topic or fund of knowledge, but busies itself with whatever is offered for its consideration. There is always a content of knowledge in the mind, with which the rational faculty may compare what is freshly presented. But if the fund of knowledge is inapplicable, inactive, or forgotten, the rational faculty may lack data for a sound comparison or fondly disregard whatever checks its course. Hence often in the crude and ignorant past, or the crude and ignorant present, the human tendency to formulate, explain, or rationalize has set itself to vindicate and justify rites and practices and hoary acceptances that are ripe for the discard. It has frequently sought to rationalize phantasies rejected by other modes of grasping or constructing fact, and the rationalization may be more absurd than the custom or acceptance itself. The logical process does not guaranty a reasonable result.

But rationalization may be the most valid of all intellectual operations. It is not easy to go beyond the conclusions of rational con-

sideration when it reviews the work of other human faculties or virtues or predilections and criticizes their methods or results. Rational consideration also seeks to bring its thinking to some ultimate conclusion, and though no topic belongs to it especially, it has an object peculiar to itself, even that end or quality of ultimate conclusion which is reason's goal. The entire history of philosophy is an illustration of the endeavor for ultimate conclusions. When the conclusion relates to being, rational consideration may be called metaphysics, or theology when the conclusion relates to God. When the conclusion concerns observation of the natural world or human conduct or social relations, rational consideration in such case might dub itself the philosophy of such matters.

Ultimate rational consideration, which may be called philosophy, follows the changing times. It applies itself to the chief intellectual interest of one age and then turns to some other preoccupation, representing the absorbtion of a later epoch. This succession of intellectual interests fills out the history of thought. The rationalizing faculty constructs the forms in which the topics are rationally apprehended or understood. Such forms or categories will change or become outmoded with the passing of intellectual emphasis from one topic to another, but rational consideration continues to function on and on. It discloses the overlappings of thought and feeling from one generation to another, demonstrates their sequential or causal lineage, and even makes their succession appear as part and parcel of its own continuous activity. The intellectual impulse to rationalize is as immortal as the bulkier urge to build societies.

Extremely variegated is the panorama of intellectual interest and emphasis to which rational consideration has been drawn from age to age. The early Greek philosophers, for example, set themselves to construct a rational scheme for their perceptive understanding of the external world. After them Socrates began the dialectic scrutiny of words and concepts, a matter previously ignored. Plato, proceeding further, concludes that ultimate reality dwells in the ideas of the mind. The Stoics and Epicureans shift the interest and effort to human values and conduct. Then, with the faltering of human self-reliance, reason seeks reassurance from the religious intuitions of mortal need. Passing through the metaphysics of Neo-Platonism, it absorbs the alluring phases of Greco-Oriental thought. And when the Mediterranean world turns to Christianity, the insistent philosophic mind undertakes the rational formulation of the Faith. This task advances through the

medieval centuries to the final achievement of the *Summa theologiae*. From devotion to theology rational consideration has gained religious feeling, and with this moving aid has built cathedrals, has stamped its thought of God and man on sculpture and painted glass, and expressed itself in the plan and conclusion of Dante's medieval *Commedia* and Milton's protestant epics.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the physical world knocked more loudly upon minds previously addicted to reasoning on divine salvation. Geographical discoveries roused bolder thoughts, while a renewed if not novel impulse to observe and study nature threatened reliance on authority. As methodical observation fought its way to recognition, rational consideration, that is philosophy, began to shift its view and refashion its categories to a more genial reception of observed phenomena. Thereupon appeared the loose but ambitious systems of the South Italians Telesio and Bruno and the Englishman Bacon. As the decades pass, the results of methodical observation are evinced in the quickened progress of astronomy, physics, and biology. In a century or two natural science becomes a dominant practical as well as intellectual interest. At the present time the problem pressing most urgently upon the considering mind is that of the consistency and certainty of this very body of scientific knowledge which has been gained through systematic observation of the natural world. There are also prickly questions as to the validity of the more promiscuously gathered mass of data concerning human relations in societies. By stoutly setting itself to these matters rational consideration carries on its task and proves again that the will to rationalize and reach ultimate conclusions is an immortal historical continuity.

X

The search for knowledge through observation has been more fitful than the inclination to rationalize whatever presses on the mind. All peoples wish to know how to make things and equip their lives profitably. A respectable accumulation of practical knowledge has more than once resulted. Curiosity passes for a mammalian instinct and is universal among mankind. Nevertheless disinterested and insistent intellectual curiosity is far from common. Occasionally it seems to follow upon the practical effort to know, as an ambient flame of unexpended energy. It sprang to action among those same Ionian philosophers who followed "natural philosophy" in the old-fashioned sense. Its broken story appears ever and anon as the converse of rational

consideration, which in Hellenic and medieval times ever tended to paralyze any effective impulse to observe nature. This impulse did not enter the mentality of Socrates, and while Plato was profoundly interested in the cosmos, his intellectual home was the realm of reason. But Aristotle was an observer of nature and a great zoologist. A like interest touched some of his disciples, although the tendencies of the time were strongly set toward ethics. Yet the following decades brought a marked advance in mathematics and astronomical science, while physiological investigations in Alexandria and other cities added much to the knowledge of the human body. From Alexandrian doctors, as well as from the Hippocratics preceding them, a sound medical tradition carried across the centuries to Galen, himself a remarkable experimenter working in the second century A. D. But soon curiosity as to the actual facts of nature was swamped by theology and its passion for allegory. Observation may be said to have slumbered till Roger Bacon and others awakened it to a false dawn in the thirteenth century. Later, as we have noted, its sun broke through and evoked an ardent and methodical investigation of nature including man, which was destined to produce the cluster of sciences marking our own time.

On the whole, the acute and effective observation of nature has been confined to European peoples and their progeny. It has not flourished in Africa or Asia, not even in India, where rational consideration has always had its home. Only Japan has nimbly adopted the science of the West. One may therefore doubt whether the record warrants our placing intellectual curiosity or its products among the unfailing continuities of history. The scientific examination of human society is more recent and has but the promise of a child still subject to the round of infantile diseases. Let us not forget, however, that life itself is purpose and endeavor, whether its inherent aimfulness be dumb or conscious and articulate. Intellectual curiosity is one of its loftiest manifestations and therefore has its roots in that which is immortal.

XI

The evolutionary processes resulting in a diversity of organisms and the emergence of mental qualities seem to carry purpose. Such purpose, whether or not conceived as an antecedent cause, is a directive influence within the active scheme of things and possibly may look to a growth of mind beyond the range of physical ingredients. Sequential dependence throughout the evolution of the more complex from the simpler organic forms, as well as the interdependence holding among

contemporary organisms, bears a loose analogy to the order of man's physiological and psychic functions, with the animal propensities the earlier. The range of human faculties from the violent to the more rational follows the sequence of evolution and indeed its immanent purpose. All seems to point to the eventual supremacy of those faculties which regard the welfare of the individual as a member of society. To this end the mind may join with its "nobler reason" to restrain its "fury", those animalities which have been so apt to press craft and ingenuity to their service.[6]

Through the past history of man the mind has not been innocent. Yet it has been and still is the home of persuasion and good thought. Its saving function is to bring to dominance the thoughts and feelings which its best consideration may accept. It will thus contribute breadth and balance to the action of its more specific phases. Its total insight and vision will enlighten the faculties working to reform or overthrow societies, enabling them to weigh the respective advantages of custom and innovation; will help to fashion ways of conduct and guide religious need; will participate in craftsmanship and artistic creation, promoting love of the true, the beautiful, and good. And its all-embracing reasonableness will advise the intellectual faculties of rational consideration and scientific curiosity and unify their quest of knowledge. By thus bringing the action of its various phases under the sovereignty of their united wisdom—their "nobler reason" if one will—the mind attains a peace and concord of its own, in harmony with the purpose immanent in the evolutionary process.

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR.

New York City.

[6] "Yet with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury do I take part". *The Tempest.*

WHAT IS HISTORIOGRAPHY?

FORTY years ago I was fascinated by the *study* of history—the mechanics of research, of that sort of research at all events (there are other kinds) which has been defined as "taking little bits out of a great many books which no one has ever read, and putting them together in one book which no one ever will read". Later I became less interested in the study of history than in history itself—that is to say, in the suggestive meanings which could be attributed to certain periods or great events, such as that "the spirit of Rome is an acid which, applied to the sentiment of nationality, dissolves it", or that "the Renaissance was the double discovery of man and the world". Now that I am old the most intriguing aspect of history turns out to be neither the study of history nor history itself, in the above noted senses, but rather the study of the history of historical study. The name given to this aspect of history is the unlovely one, as Mr. Barnes says, of Historiography.[1]

What precisely is historiography? It may be, and until recently for the most part has been, little more than the notation of historical works since the time of the Greeks, with some indication of the purposes and points of view of the authors, the sources used by them, and the accuracy and readability of the works themselves. The chief object of such enterprises in historiography is to assess, in terms of modern standards, the value of historical works for us. At this level historiography gives us manuals of information about histories and historians, provides us, so to speak, with a neat balance sheet of the "contributions" which each historian has made to the sum total of verified historical knowledge now on hand. Such manuals have a high practical value. To the candidate for the Ph. D. they are indeed indispensable, since they provide him at second hand with the most up-to-date information. From them he learns what were the defects and limitations of his predecessors, even the most illustrious, without the trouble of reading their works—as, for example, that Macaulay, although a brilliant writer, was blinded by Whig prejudice, or that Tacitus's estimate of Tiberius has been superseded by later researches,

[1] *A History of Historical Writing*. By Harry Elmer Barnes. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1937. Pp. x, 434. $3.50.)

or that Thucydides's trenchant account of the Peloponnesian War suffers from the author's unfamiliarity with the doctrine of the economic interpretation of history. Knowing the limitations of our most famous predecessors gives us all confidence in the value of our own researches: we may not be brilliant, but we can be sound. We have the great advantage of living in more enlightened times: our monographs may never rank with *The Decline and Fall* as literary classics, but they will be based upon sources of information not available to Gibbon, and made impeccable by a scientific method not yet discovered in his day.

Mr. Harry Elmer Barnes's *History of Historical Writing* is far more than this—more than an annotated catalogue of historical works. Yet in some sense it is this too, a little too much so, more so perhaps than his purpose called for or than he intended. There are parts of the book which left me with little but an envious admiration for the author's erudition, his easy familiarity with the contents of innumerable books of which I had never heard. My first impression, indeed, upon finishing the book was that I could happily find within its covers the name of every historian since the time of Menetho. Of course no real scholar would get any such impression. Not being a learned person, I am easily astounded by anyone who knows the titles of a thousand and one books. But still, I have looked at bibliographies—for example, the *Bibliographie de l'histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution* by Tourneux, in five large volumes; and recalling this impressive work I realize that even the bare titles of all the books on the French Revolution alone could not be contained in Mr. Barnes's small volume. What a list of all the historical writings since the time of Menetho would run to I know not, nor wish to know—a dreadful thought! And so, not to slander Mr. Barnes, I hasten to say that there must be innumerable writers whom he does not mention, and even, I like to think, many whom he has never heard of. He has after all selected only a few, relatively speaking; and he has selected them, if at times with insufficient restraint, for a definite purpose.

Mr. Barnes states his purpose as follows:—"to characterize the intellectual background of each major period of human advance in western civilization, show how the historical literature of each period has been related to its parent culture, point out the dominant traits of the historical writing in each era, indicate the advance, if any, in historical science, and then make clear the individual contributions of the major historical writers of the age". At this level historiography should be something more than an estimate of the contributions of

historians to present knowledge. It should be in some sense a phase of intellectual history, that phase of it which records what men have at different times known and believed about the past, the use they have made, in the service of their interests and aspirations, of their knowledge and beliefs, and the underlying presuppositions which have made their knowledge seem to them relevant and their beliefs seem to them true. The historiographer who wishes to succeed at this level should acquire much precise knowledge, but above all he should cultivate a capacity for imaginative understanding. If he wishes to fail, he should cultivate a capacity for being irritated by the ignorance and foolishness of his predecessors.

How well has Mr. Barnes succeeded in accomplishing his purpose? On the whole, well enough. Mr. Barnes has, to be sure, a certain capacity for being irritated. It is a defect of his quality. He is that rare phenomenon, a learned crusader. He is passionately interested in the application of scientific knowledge to the task of creating the good society. He is profoundly convinced that history, rightly understood, throws much needed light on the causes of the plight in which we find ourselves at the present moment; convinced, therefore, that historians, if only they would fully emancipate themselves from antiquarianism and bring their knowledge to bear upon present social problems, could contribute more than they do to the solution of those problems. I suspect that what really irritates Mr. Barnes is after all not the historians but rather the fact that so few people make any effort to appropriate the knowledge available, so many people prefer the *Saturday Evening Post* to the most up-to-date popular works on the social sciences; and this irritation is in part conveniently relieved from time to time by disparaging and opprobrious remarks about "the orthodox historian"—a species supposed to have flourished unashamed before the time of James Harvey Robinson and not yet wholly extinct.

Since the orthodox historian plays a minor role in the present book, a word needs to be said about him. I am not sure that I have ever met the fellow in the flesh. By definition he appears to be a timid, refined professor, a little apprehensive about holding his job, who is interested in political, military, and diplomatic events, is unaware of the importance of economic, social, and cultural influences, and greatly exaggerates the role of individuals as causal factors in the historic process. What puzzles me a little is that on this showing Mr. Barnes himself, although rarely accounted timid and never known to be restrained by the fear of losing his job, can be otherwise orthodox when

the occasion calls for it. In his book, *The Genesis of the World War*, I seem to remember, he dealt exclusively with political and diplomatic events and ended by naming four individuals whose nefarious activities were largely responsible for bringing on the war. What puzzles me still more is the fact that, although from Mr. Barnes's general discussion of the "new history" I should expect virtually all historians prior to the twentieth century to be orthodox, I find in his pages singularly few historians who adhere strictly to the orthodox line. On the contrary, in the chapters on "Social and Cultural History" and "Kulturgeschichte", I find evidence leading me to suppose that the new history is at least as old as Voltaire, and that a great many of the most distinguished historians of the last two centuries have by no means confined their interests to political history or notably exaggerated the role of individuals as causal factors.

It was Freeman who said that "history is past politics", and in his day interest in political and constitutional history was, it is true, very strong. But Mr. Barnes might have found an explanation, very satisfactory to the new historians I should have thought, of that fact. It was a time when the major problems of society were political and constitutional, a time when revolutions were primarily concerned with the form of government and the construction of the right kind of constitution for guaranteeing the political privileges and imprescriptible natural rights of individuals; and what, then, were these political historians doing if they were not bringing history "to bear on the present", if they were not "exploiting the past in the interest of advance", which, according to James Harvey Robinson, is what the new historian does and all historians should do? Can it be that even Freeman was, in his own day, a newer historian? But Freeman was still alive when the economic interpretation began to make headway, and today I would find it difficult to name a historian of ability who could, according to Mr. Barnes's definition, be rightly classed with the strictly orthodox. I am grateful to Mr. Barnes for not classing me with the orthodox, partly because I dislike the term on principle, whatever it means, chiefly because I do not like to be outrageously conspicuous. But still I do not mind being thought a little eccentric, and so I will risk the following observation: when the devotion of my colleagues to social history becomes such that a History of American Life can be written with only a perfunctory mention of politics, it is well to remember that politics has after all had something to do, as much at least as sport, with making American life what it is.

But I am making too much of Mr. Barnes's irritations and disgusts. They obtrude only late in the book and are at most only a minor defect. Taking the book as a whole, Mr. Barnes has done well what he set out to do. He has "characterized the intellectual background of each major period", if with no special insight or freshness, at least well enough to enable the reader to understand "the dominant traits of historical writing" in each period—to understand, for example, why historical writing in the Middle Ages necessarily differed from historical writing in classical times, why the Humanists fashioned their histories on Roman models, why the religious disputes of the Reformation turned theologians to the study of church history, and so following. Particularly good in this connection is his notation of the relation between the discovery of new countries and the growing interest in the history of social institutions and his indication of the conditions in the early nineteenth century which stimulated an interest in the philosophy of history.

Nevertheless, the characterization of the "intellectual background" and the explanation of the "dominant traits of historical writing" in terms of that background, although for the most part adequate to the author's purpose, is brief and it must be said somewhat perfunctory; it does not make the substance of the book. The greater part of the book is devoted to what interests Mr. Barnes far more—that is to say, to the "contributions of the major historical writers" and to "the advance, if any, in historical science". To estimate the value of histories and historians from the point of view of modern standards and technique is after all the principal object of the book, and this is after all what Mr. Barnes does best. Perhaps too many historical writers are mentioned, so that at times the book degenerates into a catalogue of names. "W. R. Shepherd, H. E. Bolton, W. S. Robertson, J. F. Rippy, Bernard Moses, C. W. Hackett . . . H. I. Priestley, E. C. Barker and others"—there is, particularly in the later chapters, far too much of this sort of thing. Mr. Barnes knows too much, and when the names begin to swarm in memory he allows his judgment to retire behind the cloud. He is better in those earlier, happier times when historians, not being so numerous, do not venture to gang up on him. He then finds space to tell us who they were and what they wrote with sufficient detail to make them and their writings intelligible to us. Learned scholars, not being so easily put down by Mr. Barnes's erudition as I was, will find errors here and there and some mistaken or questionable judgments. But so far as I know, Mr. Barnes's knowledge is adequate,

and his estimates, if mostly conventional, are on the whole, perhaps for that reason, essentially sound. No doubt it is beside the point to deplore the fact that "Thucydides neglected the magnificent opportunity to portray the glories of Athenian civilization". No doubt less than justice is done to Flacius Illyricus and his collaborators by stressing their "gullibility" and not sufficiently emphasizing the fact that in substituting tradition for formal logic as a test of religious doctrine and practice they were giving an immense impetus to the development of historical studies. But these are small points. On the whole Mr. Barnes has made an important addition to the literature of historiography. He has written, not an "epoch-making" book, not a profoundly original book (few books can be rightly so described), but a sound and useful book—for those not too familiar with the history of historical writing, the most informative and stimulating book, I should think, now available in English.

An author should be conceded his intention and judged by the success he attains in realizing it. For this reason I do not say of Mr. Barnes, as he says of Thucydides, that he has missed a magnificent opportunity. Nevertheless, the opportunity, whether magnificent or not, is there for those who wish to embrace it. It would be worth while, I should think, to regard historiography more simply, more resolutely, as a phase of intellectual history; to forget entirely about the contributions of historians to present knowledge and to concentrate wholly upon their role in the cultural pattern of their own time. From this point of view the historiographer would be primarily concerned with what Professor Shotwell happily calls mankind's gradual "discovery of Time" or, more broadly, with the gradual expansion of the time and space frame of reference which in some fashion conditions the range and quality of human thought.

When we think of anything, we think of it in relation to other things located in space and occurring in time, that is to say, in a time and space world, a time and space frame of reference. The development of intelligence, in the individual and the race, is in some sense a matter of pushing back the limits of the time and space world and filling it with things that really exist and events that actually happened. The time and space world of the new-born child, for example, is confined to the room in which he lies and to the present moment: everything that he observes is seen as a close-up, unrelated to anything else. The earliest men were like new-born children, knowing nothing of any country beyond the region in which they lived, nothing, or very

little and that little mostly wrong, about any past events in which they had not taken part. They too saw things as close-ups, in short perspective, unrelated to any verifiable objects in distant places or past times. The ancient Sumerians were in many ways a highly civilized people, but their social thinking was hampered by the fact that they lived in a very narrow time and space world: in their space world the human race could be destroyed by a flood sweeping the valley of the Two Rivers; in their time world the outstanding event was the Great Flood, before which stretched an unknown period, empty of content save for the eight kings believed to have reigned during 241,000 years. From the time of the Sumerians to our own day the human race has slowly and painfully extended the time and space world in which it could live, the time and space frame of reference in which it could think. The spaciousness and content of the time and space frame of reference, far more than sheer brain power, have determined the range and direction of intelligence and the underlying presuppositions that so largely shape the ideas of men about their relations to the universe and to each other.

Regarded strictly as a phase of intellectual history and not as a balance sheet of verifiable historical knowledge, historiography would have as its main theme the gradual expansion of this time and space world (particularly the time world perhaps, although the two are inseparably connected), the items, whether true or false, which acquired knowledge and accepted beliefs enabled men (and not historians only) to find within it, and the influence of this pattern of true or imagined events upon the development of human thought and conduct. So regarded, historiography would become a history of history rather than a history of historians, a history of history subjectively understood (the "fable agreed upon", the "pack of tricks played on the dead") rather than a history of the gradual emergence of historical truth objectively considered. The historiographer would of course be interested in histories—they would be a main source of information; but he would not confine his researches to them—would not, indeed, be interested in histories as such but only as one of the literary forms in which current ideas about the past find expression. Nor would he be more interested in true than in false ideas about the past: his aim would be to know what ideas, true or false, were at any time accepted and what pressure they exerted upon those who entertained them. He would not then dismiss the *Epic of Gilgamesh* or Homer's *Iliad* as irrelevant for history because they are a collection of myths or be content to say of Livy that he is a good story teller but a bad historian. Not being

primarily concerned with what the Romans actually knew about the past but with what they had in mind when they thought about it, he would seize upon the *fact* that Livy wrote his history, the *fact* that the myths it relates were current and widely accepted as true. He would realize that while a myth may not be true, that it exists is true, and that people believe it, is true and may be of the highest importance. In short, the "facts" that would concern the historiographer, the "what actually happened" that he would look for and find relevant to his purpose, would be, not the truth, but the existence and pressure of the ideas about the past which men have entertained and acted upon. His object would be to reconstruct, and by imaginative insight and aesthetic understanding make live again, that pattern of events occurring in distant places and times past which, in successive periods, men have been able to form a picture of when contemplating themselves and their activities in relation to the world in which they live. Whether the events composing the pattern are true or false, objectively considered, need not concern him.

Taken in this sense, historiography should no doubt begin with "pre-historic times"—an absurd term, as Mr. Barnes says, if we are to regard history externally, as the record of what men have done, since it implies that by far the longest span of human history occurred before there was any history. But not so absurd after all if we are to think of history from the inside, as a possession of the mind, as the developing apprehension of the past and of distant places, since the earliest men could have had very little history in that sense. Yet even the earliest men (the Cro-Magnons, for example) must have been able to form some picture, however limited in design and blurred in detail, of what had occurred and was occurring in the world. What this picture was we can only guess, although some ingenious and even illuminating guesses could no doubt be brought to birth by the anthropologists. The historiographer could at all events begin with the oldest epic stories—the Babylonian *Creation Epic,* Homer's *Iliad,* and the like. For the early Greeks the *Iliad,* as someone has said (Matthew Arnold perhaps?), was history, story, and scripture all in one. Such differentiating terms are of course misleading, since we may be fairly sure that the early Greeks made no such distinctions. The story as told—the siege of Troy, the doings of men and gods—was all real, history simply, the record of what actually happened. And so of all people whose civilization developed directly out of primitive conditions.

Not until written records had been long in use could men become effectively conscious of the fact that the event as recorded differs from

the event as remembered. Then only could they properly distinguish between story and history—between the account of events imaginatively invented and the account of events that actually happened; then only could histories be thought of as a "branch of literature". But the differentiation of history and literature does not at once make the gods indispensable. Inscrutable in their purposes, implacable in their judgments, rulers of men and things, the gods are still necessary: necessary for literature because they are so intimately involved in the current affairs of men; necessary for history because the creation of the world has to be accounted for, and men, even the ancient heroes and godlike kings, are incapable of so great a task. History therefore long remains entangled with religion, the gods serving as causal agencies operating behind men and events. But as the time and space world is expanded, providing an ever greater variety of novel items for comparison and appraisal, philosophy intrudes with its abstractions; and the gods, withdrawing from the immediate affairs of men to the place where absolute being dwells, fade away into pale replicas of their former selves—into the Law of Nature, the Transcendent Idea, the dynamic principle of Dialectic, or whatever it may be. Philosophy in turn becomes Natural Philosophy, then Natural Science, then Science: and science, dispensing altogether with the assistance of the gods and their numerous philosophic progeny, presents for contemplation the bare record of how as a matter of fact the outer world behaves, of what as a matter of fact has occurred in past times, leaving man alone in an indifferent universe without attempting to justify its ways to his deeds and aspirations.

This theme, or something like it, has been played, with appropriate variations, more than once—by the Greeks, by the Romans, by the Europeans in modern times. What is the relation between the development of an industrial-commercial society, the decline of traditional religious and political convictions, and the growth of skepticism and scientific knowledge? How can these related phenomena be correlated with the time and space world in which men live, the time and space frame of reference in which they think? What place has history, regarded as the *sense of the past*, as the apprehension of events, true or false, that are thought to have occurred or to be occurring in distant places and times past, in this correlation both as cause and effect? Within the range of these questions are to be found, I venture to think, many fruitful fields for the historiographer to cultivate.

CARL BECKER.

Cornell University.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PRESBYTERIAN INDEPENDENTS

PATTERNS sanctified by great historiographic traditions tend to become fixed. Frequently these patterns are neither logical nor coherent, but the sanction of use and wont behind them is so powerful that researchers tend to force new materials into the time-honored molds. In this way the Germanist tradition imposed itself on Bishop Stubbs,[1] and the Whig interpretation of eighteenth century politics was not completely overthrown until Mr. Namier finally destroyed it through his patient work on the Newcastle papers.[2] An even more famous case, perhaps, is that of Cromwell, rescued only after two centuries of nearly unanimous obloquy and set on a pedestal by the hero-worshiping Carlyle.[3]

The school of historians that followed Carlyle in the rehabilitation of Cromwell riveted an already venerable theory of Civil War politics onto the history of the Interregnum. That theory is somewhat as follows: In the beginning of the war the parliamentary party was united in its opposition to the autocratic pretensions of Charles I and the popish tendencies of the High Anglican faction in the church. As long as the royalists remained a threat, the factions in parliament held together. When royalist pressure slackened, parliament and its adherents split along religious lines. On one side, the Presbyterians tried to impose on England a tyrannical church uniformity on the Scottish pattern. On the other side, the Independents, a majority in the New Model army but a minority in parliament, set the doctrine of religious toleration against the persecuting aims of the Presbyterians. When in 1647 the army leaders realized that the parliamentary majority was ready to sacrifice the gains of the Civil War in order to establish Presbyterianism, they impeached eleven Presbyterian commoners and marched on London to save the revolution from intolerant reaction. In 1648 the Scots invaded England, pledged to restore Charles I to his throne. While the

[1] William Stubbs, *Select Charters and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History* (Oxford, 1870), Introductory Sketch.

[2] Lewis B. Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (2 vols., London, 1929) and *England in the Age of the American Revolution* (London, 1930).

[3] Thomas Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches with Elucidations*, S. C. Lomas, ed. (3 vols., London, 1904); Wilbur C. Abbott, "The Fame of Cromwell" in *Conflicts with Oblivion* (New Haven, 1924).

army was fighting off this invasion, the Presbyterians in parliament again opened negotiations with the king. By this time the Independents had decided that there could be no peace while Charles lived. In Pride's Purge they used the army to lop off the Presbyterian majority in parliament. They also lopped off the house of lords[4] and the head of the king. For the next four years the Independent Rump Parliament ruled England. Then it quarreled with the Independent army to its own detriment. Its dissolution by Cromwell in 1653 paved the way for the Protectorate. The death of Protector Oliver in 1658 brought on an anarchy that ended only with the restoration of the Stuart dynasty in 1660.[5]

The traditional picture of the early years of the Interregnum relies a great deal on a sharp distinction between the Presbyterians and the Independents and resolves the parliamentary history of those years into a struggle between these two as mutually exclusive groups. The material of fact at our disposal on which we can test the "mutual exclusion" theory, or any other theory of parties in the Long Parliament, is scanty. Division lists there are none, and lists of members indicating a political preference on a specific issue are few. One period of crisis, however, has left us with fragments of information from which we can construct the rough equivalent of a division list. On December 6, 1648, Colonel Pride's troop purged the house of commons of those so-called Presbyterian members who wished to continue peace negotiations with the king. Seven weeks later a packed high court of justice declared Charles Stuart, king of England, guilty of treason. On January 30 he was beheaded. During the next few months the "Independent" remainder of parliament cleaned away the debris of the monarchy, and

[4] *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, Charles H. Firth and Robert S. Rait, eds. (3 vols., London, 1911), II, 24. Cited hereafter as *A.O.I.*

[5] Gardiner and Shaw do not draw the line of religious cleavage so sharply as it is drawn in the foregoing sketch; Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649* (4 vols., London, 1893), II, 66-67. William A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church during the Civil War and under the Commonwealth* (2 vols., London, 1900), I, 206-319. The contemporaries and successors of Gardiner and Shaw overlooked their distinctions, which were indeed neither completely nor clearly drawn. The above sketch is a fair summary of the opinions of Carlyle, Firth, Trevelyan, Montague, and Buchan. Carlyle, I, 225; Charles H. Firth, *Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England* (New York, 1923), pp. 144-63; George M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts* (London, 1914), pp. 225-91; Francis C. Montague, *The History of England, 1603-1660* (London, 1907), pp. 322-45; John Buchan, *Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1934), pp. 229-47.

England was declared a kingless commonwealth by legislative fiat of the Rump.

From three sources it is possible to compile a reasonably complete list of the men who actively participated in the destruction of the monarchy and the governing of the Commonwealth: (1) The warrant for the execution of Charles I contains the signatures of those who inflicted the death penalty on him.[6] (2) William Prynne set down in a pamphlet the names of those members of the house of commons who took the engagement to support the Commonwealth.[7] (3) Scattered through the journal of the house of commons from mid-December, 1648, to April, 1653, are the names of the members who helped to rule the new republic.[8] These three lists contain in all about two hundred names.

Here we have the two hundred stanch Independent commoners, the sheep who are separated from the goats. Some Presbyterians, perhaps, supported the New Model Army while the war lasted; some, perhaps, drew off to that army in 1647 and engaged to live and die with it.[9] But in the era of the Rump waverers must needs have recoiled in face of the burning question, "Will you pay the price for religious toleration; will you by word or deed countenance the execution of the king?" The men who signed the death warrant of Charles Stuart, who repudiated his legitimate successor, swore allegiance to the Commonwealth, and acted in the supreme legislature of the new government, these regicides and rumpers could not be Presbyterians; they were the gold tried in the fire, the ultimate and essential Independents.

It is so obvious that the two hundred regicides and rumpers must have been Independents that it is disconcerting to discover among them at least thirty-nine men who allowed their names to be enrolled among the elders of the parliamentary Presbyterian Church.[10] Distressing to

[6] Gardiner, *Civil War*, IV, 309, n. 1.

[7] *A Remonstrance and Declaration of Several Counties, Cities and Burroughs* (London, 1648), pp. 4-5.

[8] *Journal of the House of Commons*, VI, 96 *ad fin.*, VII, 1-272; hereafter cited as *C.J.*

[9] For a list of the Engagers see *An Engagement of the Lords and Commons that went to the Army, 4 Aug., with their Names thereunto Subscribed* (London, 1647).

[10] These thirty-nine Independents in presbyteries, given in Volume II of Shaw, are: Francis Allen, p. 403; John Ash, p. 415; Nathaniel Bacon, p. 426; William Ball, p. 403; Sir John Barrington, p. 382; Robert Blake, p. 421; Sir William Brereton, p. 435; Peter Brook, p. 395; Robert Brewster, p. 425; John Corbett, p. 407; William Ellis, p. 404; Thomas Fell, p. 390; John Goodwyn, p. 434; Robert Goodwyn, p. 434; Brampton Gurdon, p. 429; John Gurdon, p. 423; John Harrington, p. 415; Edmund Harvey, p.

the lover of symmetry as is the presence of all these "Independents" in a place where they "do not belong", it is easier to believe that they were members of presbyteries than to explain their inclusion in the lists as accidental. The early ordinances on ecclesiastical affairs, antedating the official erection of any presbyteries, provided for a Presbyterian hierarchy of church courts from congregational elderships through classes and provincial synods to the national assembly.[11] So the "Independents" who allowed their names to appear on eldership lists must have done so with full knowledge that the national church was to be Presbyterian in form. They were not obliged to offer their services. No penalty in law lay against a man for refusing to act as an elder. On the contrary, one qualification for the eldership, prescribed by the first ecclesiastical ordinance which parliament passed, was willingness to "undergo the . . . office".[12] Nor can the presence of so many "Independent" names be attributed to a superfluity of zeal on the part of local Presbyterian ministers anxious to make a brave show on their lists. In the compiling of the lists the local clergy and the local gentry acted only as advisers to the county committees,[13] who certified the

426; William Heveningham, p. 425; Roger Hill, p. 421; Lislibone Long, p. 417; Sir William Masham, p. 380; William Masham, p. 380; Sir Henry Mildmay, p. 375; John More, p. 415; Sir Roger North, p. 426; John Palmer, p. 420; Alexander Popham, p. 415; Edward Popham, p. 415; Edmund Prideaux, p. 404; John Pyne, p. 421; Robert Reynolds, p. 428; Alexander Rigby, p. 397; George Searle, p. 420; George Snelling, p. 403; George Thompson, p. 403; Benjamin Weston, p. 435; Henry Weston, p. 434; Sir Thomas Wrothe, p. 421. It is possible, of course, that the names in the presbytery lists in some cases coincide with those of the members of parliament by mere accident. For instance, John More who sits in parliament is not necessarily the John More whose name appears on the presbytery list. To reduce the chance of error to a minimum I have included in the above list only those members whose names occur in the lists of elders for the particular county for which they sat in parliament (twenty-four in number) and those who can be shown to have had some other special connection with the county where their names appear on the list of elders. Fifteen members in the above list did not sit in parliament for the counties where they were elders. Twelve of these fifteen, however, were active on the committees for those counties, as can be seen in *A.O.I.*, Volume I: Francis Allen, p. 746; John Ash, p. 68; Nathaniel Bacon, p. 639; William Ball, p. 970; Sir John Barrington, p. 91; Sir William Brereton, p. 44; Robert Goodwyn, p. 116; Edmund Harvey, p. 537; Roger Hill, p. 235; John Pyne, p. 170; Robert Reynolds, p. 235; Benjamin Weston, p. 624. William Heveningham of the Dunwich classis was a landowner in Suffolk (Alfred Suckling, *History and Antiquities of Suffolk*, 2 vols., London, 1847, pp. 384-90). The two "Independent" tryers of elders at the inns of court, Prideaux and Ellis, were important Interregnum lawyers.

[11] *A.O.I.*, I, 749-54.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 749.

[13] Shaw, II, 6.

final drafts to the houses of parliament.[14] The "Independents" on the eldership lists were members of the very county committees that drew them up and of the house that ratified them. If they had any scruple about serving in a church organized along Presbyterian lines, they could easily keep their names off the lists either by refusing to allow the county committees to include them or by demanding in the house or in the Committee on Scandalous Sins, which finally approved the county lists, that their names be struck from the roster of elders.[15] Both law and circumstance militated against the enrollment in presbyteries of members of the houses who did not care to belong. We can only conclude that the thirty-nine "Independents" enrolled in presbyteries were there because they wanted to be there, or at least had no objection to being there.[16]

At first glance this conclusion seems to leave us in a curious dilemma, and as we look further the dilemma grows "curiouser and curiouser". Our thirty-nine "Independents" serving in elderships are about one fifth of the two hundred regicides and rumpers in the house of commons. If we stop there, if only one fifth of our true-blue Independents turn out to be Presbyterians, our problem is puzzling enough. But the more rigorously we examine our data on the English Church during the Interregnum the more suspicious we grow. It would seem that far more than one fifth of the "Independents" were Presbyterians.

All of the thirty-nine Presbyterian "Independents" are listed as elders in one or another of seven counties. These seven counties are the only ones whose complete classis lists are extant.[17] We have positive evidence, however, of the existence of more or less complete Presbyterian

[14] *Ibid.*, II, 392, 421.

[15] A particularly flagrant example of an "Independent" who failed to do anything of the sort is Sir William Masham. He was a member of the county committee for Essex (*A.O.J.*, I, 91), the committee which drafted the eldership list for the shire, and he was one of the ten members of the joint Committee on Scandalous Sins who signed the order approving the Essex eldership lists *on which his own name appeared* (Shaw, II, 380, 392).

[16] Against this statement the fact that on most of the eldership lists the elders are certified merely as "fit to serve" cannot be urged. It is true that they were so certified, but the fact is of no significance. As pointed out above, fitness to serve depended in part on willingness to serve. The form of certification simply meant that the men listed were fit and willing to serve subject to the approval and ratification of the houses or of the joint Committee on Scandalous Sins (*ibid.*, pp. 374, 392, 412).

[17] See Shaw, Vol. II, for them: Essex, pp. 374-92; Lancashire, pp. 393-98; London, pp. 399-404; Shropshire, pp. 406-12; Somerset, pp. 413-21; Suffolk, pp. 423-31; Surrey, pp. 431-35.

organizations in twelve other counties.[18] And although positive proof is lacking, it is probable that some counties had presbyteries which disappeared, leaving no trace behind them. Otherwise, how are we to account for the fact that in the eastern tier of Puritan counties the only ones that have left no evidence of a Presbyterian establishment are Norfolk, not the least in zeal among them, and Cambridgeshire, the seat of the university which the Presbyterians regarded as peculiarly their own? Why should we assume that in the center of western Puritanism and surrounded by counties with presbyteries, Dorset had none and that, while Warwickshire had a full classical ordinance, neighboring Northamptonshire, a focal point of early English Presbyterianism, had none? [19] Far from assuming that our thirty-nine members include all the "Independents" who co-operated or connived in the establishment of Presbyterianism, we must admit that they are probably only that fraction of the whole group of equivocal "Independents" who happened to live in or be associated with the seven "list" counties.

Although returns for some counties are lacking and for others are useless because of their fragmentary character, we are singularly fortunate in the distribution of these seven "list" counties that did make full and complete returns. We have Essex and Suffolk in East Anglia, Surrey in the southeast, Somerset in the southwest, Shropshire in the western midlands, and Lancashire in the north.[20] Only the central and eastern midlands are not represented. Moreover, among the members for the "list" counties at the time of Pride's Purge a little less than three eighths became regicides or rumpers, and a little more than three eighths of the total membership of the house followed the same course.[21]

[18] Shaw, Vol. II: Cheshire and Derbyshire, p. 373; Devonshire and Durham, p. 374; Hampshire, p. 393; Lincolnshire, p. 399; Northumberland, p. 405; Sussex and Warwickshire, p. 436; Wiltshire, pp. 437-38; Yorkshire, pp. 438-40; Westmorland, p. 369.

[19] Shaw, II, 436; Roland G. Usher, *The Reconstruction of the English Church* (2 vols., New York, 1910), I, 252, 256.

[20] London cannot be said to be typical of any area in England but its own. As metropolitan capital its situation was unique.

[21] Although thirty-nine regicides and rumpers belonged to presbyteries in the "list" counties, altogether only thirty-two rumpers and regicides sat for those counties. A considerable number of the "Presbyterian" Independents did not represent in parliament the counties where they served as elders (see note 10). Of the eighty-eight members who sat for the "list" counties the thirty-two rumpers and regicides comprise 36%. At the beginning of the Long Parliament there were altogether 513 members of the house of commons. The number was greatly reduced by the defection of the royalists and by

The proportion of regicides and rumpers among the representatives of the seven counties was thus almost the same as their proportion in the house at large. And since there was a modicum of sectional homogeneity in seventeenth century England, we may study the seven shires for which our data are adequate, if not as perfectly typical of the whole kingdom, at least as acute cases of a chronic and pandemic condition.

So we shall seek to arrive at a significant estimate of the amount of Presbyterianism among the "Independents" by studying its prevalence among the members of parliament representing the seven "list" counties. Altogether these seven counties returned eighty-eight members to the house of commons—Essex 8, Lancashire 14, Middlesex (including the borough of Southwark) 10, Shropshire 12, Somersetshire 16, Suffolk 16, Surrey 12. From the eighty-eight we may, however, strike out four who apparently had no connection with the local politics or the social and economic life of the counties where their parliamentary constituencies were located.[22] The remaining eighty-four members do have such connections.[23] Most of them, sixty-one in all, were listed in their county elderships. The other twenty-three owned land or were active in politics in the shires where they had their parliamentary seats.[24]

death. In 1645, however, the house began to issue writs for new elections to refill the vacant seats. By the time of Pride's Purge the membership was nearly back to its original size. About two hundred of the commoners sitting at that time became regicides or rumpers—that is, 40%. In our later consideration of the religious situation in the "list" counties we shall eliminate from consideration one of the thirty-two rumpers and regicides and three of the other members for reasons cited in note 22.

[22] I have been unable to find any evidence of the association of Sir Charles Legrosse, a Norfolk man, with Suffolk (*Norfolk Archeology*, III, 90), of Walter Strickland, a northerner, with Somerset, of Sir Edward Spencer with Middlesex, or of Sir Richard Wynne with Lancashire. In 1647 there was a movement to expel Legrosse from parliament on grounds of malignancy. Strickland spent most of his time in Holland as parliamentary agent. Spencer was returned from Middlesex some time after the first eldership list for the county was published. Wynne, an old courtier from Wales (G. E. C. [Cockayne], *Complete Baronetage*, 5 vols., Exeter, 1900, I, 64-65), was seated for Liverpool on the Molyneux-Stanley interest (J. A. Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, 2 vols., London, 1875, I, 83). It is perhaps best therefore to eliminate all four from our present consideration.

[23] On a strict interpretation eighty-two might be a more accurate number; but although Sir John Clotworthy (member for Maldon, Essex) and William Masham (member for Shrewsbury, Shropshire) had no connection with the places which returned them as members, nevertheless they resided in "list" counties, Clotworthy in Middlesex (*Accounts and Papers*, 1876, LXII, pt. 1, 488, "Members of Parliament") and Masham in Essex (*A.O.I.*, I, 91). Since they were thus just as available as the other eighty-two for service in "list" county elderships, we may include them in our study.

[24] William Langton was of an old Lancashire family (Edward Baine, *History of the*

Of these eighty-four commoners, twenty-four were regicides or rumpers in their county presbyteries, thirty-seven others, not regicides or rumpers, were also in their county presbyteries, but the remaining twenty-three had no connection with the parliamentary Presbyterian Church.[25] Now the very best we could hope for would be that these twenty-three non-Presbyterians should turn out to be regicides and rumpers. Were this the case, the regicides and rumpers, that is to say, the "Independents", would still be a bastard breed, nearly half Presbyterian. Such a mongrel Independency would do violence to our old conception of party divisions in the Long Parliament. The actual situation, however, does considerably more violence to that conception. For as a matter of fact only seven of these twenty-three commoners not included in the presbyteries were regicides and rumpers.[26] This gives a total of thirty-one "Independent" members for the seven "list" counties, and over 75

County . . . of Lancaster, 4 vols., London, 1836, IV, p. 409). Anthony Bedingfield's family had land in Suffolk where he was returned from Dunwich (John Burke, . . . *History of the Commoners of England*, 4 vols., London, 1836, IV, p. 409). For Sir John Clotworthy see the above note. For the other members not connected with the county presbyteries see *A.O.I.*, Volume I: James Ash, p. 974; William Bell, p. 114; Sir Robert Bindlose, p. 707; William Carent, p. 1243; Humphrey Edwards, p. 447; Sir Gilbert Gerard, and John Glynn, p. 536; Thomas Grove, p. 974; Thomas Hodges, p. 1091; John Holcroft, p. 1239; Capel Luckyn, p. 1237; Thomas Mackworth, p. 1091; William Lord Monson, p. 1093; Sir Poynings More, p. 1094; Sir Robert Parkhurst, p. 1095; Isaac Pennington, p. 1087; Thomas Sandys, p. 976; Sir Thomas Soame, p. 1087; Samuel Vassal and John Venn, p. 1087.

[25] The number twenty-four is used here instead of thirty-nine because, although thirty-nine regicide and rumper members of parliament had elderships in the seven "list" counties, fifteen of the thirty-nine did not sit in parliament from these counties. See note 10 above.

For the thirty-seven members of parliament from the seven "list" counties who were not regicides or rumpers but who belonged to the presbyteries of their respective counties, see Shaw, Volume II: Sir Ralph Ashton and Ralph Ashton, p. 394; William Ashurst, p. 395; Francis Bacon, p. 426; Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, p. 429; Sir Thomas Barnardiston, p. 429; Maurice Barrow, p. 428 (there spelled Batrow); Alexander Bence and Squire Bence, p. 425; Edward Bishe, p. 434; Sir Humphrey Briggs, p. 409; Sir Ambrose Brown, p. 433; Sir Robert Charlton, p. 411; Sir Thomas Cheke, p. 375; Robert Clive and Sir John Corbett, p. 410; Sir Simond Dewes, p. 428; George Evelyn, p. 433; Sir John Evelyn, p. 434; Harbottle Grimston, p. 391; George Horner, p. 417; Sir Richard Houghton, p. 396; Thomas Hunt, p. 407; Sir Martin Lumley, p. 384; Thomas More, p. 412; Sir Richard Onslow and William Owfield, p. 434; Sir Philip Parker, p. 423; William Pierpont, p. 409; Sir William Playters, p. 426; John Sayer, p. 388; Richard Shuttleworth, sr., and Richard Shuttleworth, jr., p. 394; Sir William Spring, p. 428; William Strode, p. 417; Esay Thomas, p. 412; Clement Walker, p. 415.

[26] James Ash, Humphrey Edwards, Thomas Hodges, Thomas Mackworth, William Lord Monson, Isaac Pennington, John Venn.

per cent of them were Presbyterians. The remaining fifty-three members, who were neither regicides nor rumpers, did not, politically speaking, survive Pride's Purge. They were the "Presbyterians". But of these "Presbyterians" only 70 per cent belonged to their county presbyteries. Our study moves toward a most curious conclusion. As we naturally should expect, a rather high percentage of "Presbyterians" were Presbyterians; but as we most assuredly should not expect, an even higher percentage of "Independents" were Presbyterians.

This analysis may encounter an objection. It may be said that it is unfair to jumble all the members who were not regicides or rumpers together and label them Presbyterians, that those only should be called Presbyterian who were excluded or arrested in Pride's Purge. Instead of objecting to this distinction, although on the theory that Presbyterians and Independents were mutually exclusive groups it is a very dubious one, let us make the distinction and study the results. Twenty-five arrested or excluded members sat for the seven counties and had local interests in those counties besides representing them in parliament. Only about five eighths of these twenty-five "Presbyterians", *i. e.*, sixteen, were enrolled as elders in their several counties. More than six eighths of the "Independents" who sat for these counties were so enrolled.[27] However we interpret our data we reach the same stultifying result: Among the members who sat for these seven counties the proportion of "Independents" who were Presbyterian was greater than the proportion of "Presbyterians" who were Presbyterian. And since we may consider these counties as roughly typical of the rest,[28] the same proposition is true for parliament as a whole. That is to say, *there was a larger proportion of Presbyterian "Independents" than of Presbyterian "Presbyterians" in the Long Parliament*. The use of quotation marks in our discussion of the "Presbyterians" and "Independents" as

[27] That is, twenty-four of the thirty-one "Independents". See the tables in note 29 below. The twenty-five members from the seven counties, purged by Pride and not returning to the house, were distributed as follows: in presbyteries—Sir Ralph Ashton, Maurice Barrow, Sir Ambrose Brown, Sir John Corbett, Sir Simond Dewes, Harbottle Grimston, George Horner, Sir Martin Lumley, Sir Richard Onslow, William Owfield, Sir Philip Parker, Sir William Playters, Sir William Spring, William Strode, Esay Thomas, Clement Walker; not in presbyteries—Sir Robert Bindlose, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, John Glynn, Thomas Grove, John Holcroft, Thomas Sandys, Sir Thomas Soame, Samuel Vassal. For lists of excluded and arrested members see William Prynne, *The True and Full Relation* (London, 1648), p. 11; *The Second Part of the Narrative* (London, 1648), pp. 3-8; *The Parliamentary History of England to 1803* (36 vols., London, 1806-20), III, pp. 248-49.

[28] See page 35.

political parties stands as a barrier between us and sheer nonsense.[29]

If the bulk of the parliamentary "Presbyterian" party lagged behind the "Independents" in enthusiasm for joining presbyteries, it might be thought that the former party acquired its label through the superior orthodoxy of its leaders. The leaders of the "Presbyterian" party, at least according to the idea of the Independent army, which had good cause to know, were the eleven members impeached by that army in 1647. By the time of the Restoration three of them were dead,[30] and two received no honors from the returned Stuart.[31] But among the rest were distributed three knighthoods and a knighthood of the Bath, a baronetcy, a barony, and a viscounty.[32] One of the eleven, who became a knight and also a king's sergeant, had been lord chief justice under Oliver Cromwell, and the viscount had served on one of the Protectorate commissions for the settlement of Ireland. Another of the impeached members sat in all of the Protectorate parliaments.[33] Of

[29] The statistical results of our study may be represented county by county in this tabular form:

	Independents in presbyteries	Presbyterians in presbyteries	Independents not in presbyteries	Presbyterians not in presbyteries	Not connected with the place from which they sit	TOTALS
Essex	2*	4	0	2	0	8
Lancashire	4	6	0	3	1	14
Middlesex	2	0	2	5*	1	10
Shropshire	2	7	2	1	0	12
Somerset	8	3	2	2	1	16
Suffolk	4	10	0	1	1	16
Surrey	2	7	1	2	0	12
TOTALS	24	37	7	16	4	88

	No. in presbyteries	% in presbyteries	No. not in presbyteries	% not in presbyteries
Independents	24	77	7	23
Presbyterians	37	70	16	30
Members secluded or arrested 1648	16	64	9	36

*For the inclusion of William Masham and John Clotworthy in the numbers indicated see above, note 23.

[30] Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Maynard, Anthony Nicholas.

[31] Sir William Lewis, Sir William Waller.

[32] Edward Massey and John Glynn, knights; Edward Harley, knight and K.B.; Walter Long, baronet; Denzil Holles, Baron Holles; John Clotworthy, Viscount Massareene.

[33] In the same order, Glynn, Clotworthy, Nicholas.

course, the peculiar adaptability of so many of the eleven members to the shifting of the political wind cannot be taken to prove absolutely that they were not stanch Presbyterians. It should, however, make us think twice before we assume that they were models of orthodox zeal.

What we are able to discover of the religious opinions of individuals among the eleven serves to confirm our suspicion of their Presbyterian ardor. Specific evidence as to the theological preferences of four of them is lacking, while a fifth is a doubtful case.[34] Of the remaining six Sir John Maynard seems to have been a "real" Presbyterian.[35] Massey, on the other hand, was ready to betray Gloucester to the king at the very time that negotiations were under way for an alliance between parliament and the champions of the godly discipline from Scotland.[36] Waller dreamed of a latitudinarian Puritanism altogether incompatible with the divine right of presbyteries,[37] and Edward Harley at the Restoration became a regular communicant of the Church of England.[38] John Glynn, whose feline talent for landing on his feet brought him unscathed through one political crisis after another, conducted one of the earliest recorded filibusters in the house of commons. A "Presbyterian" leader, he filibustered against a bill that would have freed presbyteries from political regulation.[39] His is not the most startling case. In March, 1646, the commons passed a church bill which Baillie, the Scottish commissioner, attributed to the joint machinations of the Erastians and Independents and considered so entirely evil that he doubted whether the Presbyterian ministers would consent to perform their offices under it.[40] By way of contrast the commoner who carried the bill to the lords celebrated the date of its passage as

[34] Stapleton, Nicholas, Lewis, Long. Clotworthy may or may not have been a zealous Presbyterian; see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[35] Siranniho [John Harris], *The Royal Quarrel* (London, 1647). Harris's distinction between "real" and "royal" Presbyterians is illuminating.

[36] Gardiner, *Civil War*, I, 198, and n. 2. Clarendon says of Massey that he was "not intoxicated with any of those fumes which made men rave and frantic in the cause" (*History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, re-edited by W. Dunn Macray, 6 vols., Oxford, 1888, bk. VII, sec. 158).

[37] "There may be different characters of parties in the church . . . Episcopians . . . Presbyterians and . . . Independents; and yet all be Israelites indeed." Sir William Waller, *Vindication of the Character and Conduct of Sir William Waller* (London, 1793), p. 228.

[38] *Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley*, T. T. Lewis, ed. (Camden Society, London, 1853), p. 241.

[39] Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English Affairs* (London, 1732), pp. 110-11.

[40] Baillie, II, 360-61.

"the dawning of a glorious day which our ancestors hoped to have seen but could not".[41] This enthusiast for a measure hated by true Presbyterians was certainly not an Independent; he may have been an Erastian, and he was indisputably the acknowledged leader of the "Presbyterian" party in the house. His name was Denzil Holles. To the question, "How Presbyterian was the 'Presbyterian' party?" the true answer seems to be, "Not very".

Dr. William A. Shaw has shown that the Presbyterianism of the parliamentary Presbyterian Church was as equivocal an affair as the Independency of the "Independents".[42] To complete the record let us review briefly the history of the establishment of the parliamentary church during the Civil War.[43] Presbyterianism is rather difficult to define. It is not simply Calvinism. Archbishop Whitgift and John Cotton were both orthodox Calvinists without being Presbyterians. Presbyterianism is Calvinism operating under a specific form and substance of church government. The form of Presbyterian church government is a hierarchy of ecclesiastical tribunals beginning with the congregation and ending in the national synod. That hierarchy existed in law in England during the late forties of the seventeenth century.[44] The substance of Presbyterianism is the jurisdiction, independent of the state, exercised by the ecclesiastical courts over the whole nation in all questions of morals. This is the "godly discipline" of Geneva and Scotland, abhorred by Charles I.[45] Without it the Presbyterian tribunals are courts without jurisdiction, empty and impotent.

For a year and a half, from January, 1645, to June, 1646, the Long Parliament labored at the ecclesiastical settlement. The Grand Committee on Religion of the house of commons debated the problems of the settlement, often three times a week, for a year after the battle of Naseby.[46] There is no question here of unconsidered emergency legislation hastily adopted because of the exigencies of war. Throughout

[41] *Journal of the House of Lords,* VIII, 202; see Clarendon's statement (bk. VIII, sec. 248) that Holles confessed that he was merely using the Presbyterians to oppose the Independents.

[42] Shaw, Vol. I.

[43] For the most important ecclesiastical ordinances see *A.O.I.*, Volume I: regulating the election of elders, Aug. 19, 1645, pp. 749-54; concerning church government and suspension from the sacraments, Oct. 20, 1645, pp. 789-93; amending previous ordinances, June 5, 1646, pp. 852-55.

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 749-54.

[45] *Charles I in 1646,* J. Bruce, ed. (Camden Soc., 1856), pp. 22-23.

[46] *E.g., C. J.,* IV, 266-72.

eighteen months the pressure on parliament to establish the godly discipline never relaxed. The Scots commissioners, the assembly of divines, the city of London, the clergy of London—four of the most powerful of parliament's allies—united to force the houses to grant the substance of jurisdiction to the presbyteries.[47] At one point the assembly threatened a clerical sit-down strike unless they had their way. The unremitting hammering to which the commons were subjected finally brought out a statement of their position so explicit as to leave no possible doubt as to their intentions. "We cannot", they declared flatly, "consent to the granting of so arbitrary and unlimited jurisdiction to near ten thousand judicatories to be erected within this kingdom . . . by necessary consequence excluding the power of the Parliament in the exercise of that jurisdiction."[48] When the time for action came the commons proved that they had meant precisely what they said; they had no intention of turning England over to the tender mercies of the elderships. The scheme of ecclesiastical discipline ultimately adopted by parliament was anything but the answer to a Presbyterian's prayer. Instead of granting "arbitrary and unlimited jurisdiction" to the presbyteries, it gave them a regulated jurisdiction over a limited group of scandalous sins. In all cases not enumerated in the ordinance appeal lay not through the hierarchy of church courts but directly from the congregational eldership to a committee of both houses of parliament.[49] The final determination of the power of the presbyteries lay not between them and God, as the Presbyterians would have had it, but with a parliament that had already manifested its sympathy with John Selden's war cry, "Chain up the clergy on both sides."[50] Several months after parliament had passed the basic ordinance on church discipline, King Charles I contrasted the true Presbyterian system of Scotland, where "the clergie will depend on none", with the pseudo-Presbyterianism of England, where the clergy depended on the two houses without the king.[51] Charles knew whereof he spoke. As Baillie, the Scottish Kirk commissioner, bitterly observed, the English ordinance set up merely "a lame Erastian presbyterie". With full consciousness of what it was doing, parliament established the outer shell of Presbyterian church government in England; but,

[47] *L.J.*, VII, 558-59, VIII, 105, 232, 258.

[48] *C. J.*, IV, 513.

[49] *A.O.I.*, I, 852-55.

[50] John Selden, *Table Talk* (London, 1906), p. 30.

[51] *State Papers collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, Richard Scrope and Thomas Monkhouse, eds. (3 vols., Oxford, 1767-86), II, 260.

still fully conscious of the implication of its act, parliament refused to breathe into that shell what alone could give it real life and power—"arbitrary and unlimited jurisdiction", the substance of Presbyterian discipline.[52]

We thus emerge from our investigation with "Independents" who were not Independents adhering in a larger proportion than "Presbyterians" who were not Presbyterian to a "Presbyterian Church" that was not really Presbyterian. Such a conclusion has a certain destructive value. If in the Long Parliament many "Independents" were members of presbyteries and many "Presbyterians" were not members of presbyteries, if the leadership of the "Presbyterian party" was hardly Presbyterian at all, and if the Presbyterian Church was to some degree Erastian, then the Long Parliament could not have been simply the arena for a titanic struggle between real Presbyterians and real Independents. This statement is painfully negative and has no constructive value. It explains nothing; the anomaly of the Presbyterian Independents remains an anomalous as before. It is possible either to leave the whole problem in the air or to suggest an explanation for which evidence cannot be given within the limits of this article. Accepting the latter alternative and hoping at a future time to present the supporting proofs, we offer some generalizations.[53]

John Pym dominated the house of commons in the first year of the Civil War. During the time of his hegemony no religious issues of any consequence emerged in parliament, and in many instances party divisions in the houses cut clean across sectarian lines. In the twelvemonth that followed Pym's death it was the intensity of a man's religious ardor rather than the nature of his favorite brand of church government that determined his party allegiance. All the fiery and militant Puritans, regardless of their sectarian preference, were united in a single alliance—the *soi-disant* "godly party". It was not for an ultimate common end that the militant Puritans worked together. For the time being they all despised the same things and the same people with such intense fervor that they did not need a constructive program to bind them together. Hostile to all members of parliament more moderate and more peace-loving than themselves, distrustful of the military skill and the devotion to the "cause" of the lord general, the

[52] The Presbyterianism described above is of course Reformation Presbyterianism, not the twentieth century variety.

[53] The writer expects to publish soon a monographic survey of Civil War politics in the period of John Pym's leadership.

Earl of Essex, the "godly party" set out to harass the moderates and discredit the earl. They attained their latter objective when Essex's army surrendered to the royalists at Lostwithiel. Immediately thereafter, toward the end of 1644, the "godly party" was torn asunder. Since its internal cohesion was destroyed by the emergence of the religious issue in an acute form, we must briefly analyze the religious situation in the Civil War parliament.

Shrewd John Selden once remarked: "The House of Commons is called the Lower House in twenty acts of Parliament; but what are twenty acts of Parliament among friends?"[54] The commons were the tail that wagged the dog, and since the outbreak of hostilities the commons had been overwhelmingly Puritan. They could be satisfied by no mere half-hearted changes in the church. In contrast to the moderate Anglicans and the out-and-out Erastians, who wanted only a readjustment or diminution of ecclesiastical power, the Puritan mass in the lower house insisted on the need for a fundamental spiritual reform of the church. The minimum of reform acceptable to all the Puritans involved the abolition of ritualism and drastic revision of the prayer book, the reaffirmation of pure Calvinist doctrine, an increased emphasis on the preaching of the Word, radical alterations in the existing church government, and the embodiment of these reforms in a unified national church. Probably the aspirations of the bulk of Puritan commoners were no more specific than this. Differences lay in the intensity rather than in the form of aspiration. There were in the house, however, men with clear and distinct ideas as to the best or the only form of church government suitable to carry out the reforms commonly desired. Unfortunately their ideas were not identical; they were divided into three separate groups. All three groups either antedated the Long Parliament or could point to ideological predecessors earlier in the seventeenth century. The Erastian Puritans felt that the desired reforms could best be achieved through a sharp reduction of clerical power in general and of the power of the bishops in particular and through the transfer of part of the king's ecclesiastical prerogative to parliament. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, would have no truck with the bishops. They wanted to displace episcopacy altogether for the only form of church government plainly set forth in Holy Scripture—Genevan-Scottish Presbyterianism. The Independents also wanted to abolish episcopacy for the only form of church government plainly set forth

[54] Selden, p. 31.

in Scripture—the congregational form on New England models. Now the very soul of the "godly party" had been its Presbyterian and Independent leaders, and in 1645 the question of church government divided these leaders and thereby destroyed the spiritual unity of the "godly party". As a consequence of this split the Puritan religious settlement was the result of a series of bewilderingly shifting coalitions among the three doctrinaire religious groups. By 1645 episcopacy was a dead issue. It had been destroyed by the Covenant, the work of Presbyterians, Independents, and nonsectarian Puritans, two years before. Now, *faute de mieux,* the Erastians[55] and the mass of Puritans united with the Presbyterians to set up the form of Presbyterian government and then, quickly putting about, united with the Independents to prevent the establishment of a real Presbyterian discipline. The resulting ecclesiastical settlement, recorded in legislation between 1645 and 1648, may not have been perfect in the eyes of most Puritans, but it probably represented a rough approximation to what they wanted. If it had not, we would not find nearly three quarters of them "joining up" in our seven "list" counties.

While the members were settling the church a curious and complicated set of crosscurrents developed in parliament. In 1644 young Henry Vane and Oliver St. John, the leaders of the Independents, foresaw the imminent breakdown of the "godly party", and they worked out a clever scheme to prevent the balance of power from falling into the hands of the Presbyterians. The conduct of the military campaign of 1644 had profoundly disappointed the high hopes of the militant Puritans, and consequently the Independents had no trouble in swinging them in favor of a general army reform. The Independent leaders so manipulated the reform as to displace a high command actually or potentially hostile to them with an officer group friendly to them. At the same time the reforms gave the new force a unified command and reasonable assurance of regular supply and pay. The result was the great New Model army, of which Gardiner somewhere says that it was not the army of a party but the army of the nation. But really the unique fact about the New Model was that it was both the one and the other and something else besides. In the pay of parliament, it represented the nation insofar as the will of the nation and the will of the majority in parliament coincided. Moreover, its commanders were closely united to the parliamentary Independents by bonds of sympathy,

[55] *I. e.,* Puritan Erastians like Maynard and Whitlocke and non-Puritan Erastians like Selden (if there was anybody else like Selden).

friendship, and obligation. Soon, however, it developed an *esprit de corps* and aims and purposes of its own, not always congruent with the aims of the parliamentary Independents or the will of the nation. As long as it kept busy beating the royalist enemy and insuring the departure of the Scots army from England, it enjoyed a broad general support among the Puritans. When, however, it deviated from its national ends and began to develop distinct political and religious tendencies of its own, and when its military work was accomplished, most of the Puritans thought that the time had come to get rid of it. The minority that sympathized with some of the army's political or religious objectives stood by it, and the parliamentary Independents, unable to muster a majority in either house under any circumstances without the threat of force, naturally followed the course set by the army that they could no longer control.

Meanwhile the split in the "godly party" had had a further influence on the development of parliamentary politics. Throughout 1644 the Independent chiefs, young Vane and Oliver St. John, had acted in closest conjunction with the real leaders of the parliamentary Presbyterians, the Scottish commissioners in London. When, because of the religious schism in the "godly party", they could no longer use them, the Independent leaders were ready to throw the Scots to the wolves. They turned on them as before they had turned on Essex and, playing on the old English distrust of a traditional enemy, tried to destroy them. This policy of the Independents and the obvious hostility of the New Model to Presbyterianism drove the Scots and their English followers into the waiting arms of the Earl of Essex and the moderate, pacific members of parliament. Many of the moderates were Erastians with no special affection for Presbyterianism and no special antipathy to reformed Episcopacy. To retain the support of these men for the parliamentary Presbyterian Church the Scots and their friends accepted the conservative political program of the moderates and in so doing subordinated their former zeal for radical political reform to the quest for peace. Most of the real Presbyterians and many of the less radical Puritans joined with the old "peace party" in an effort to get rid of the army, while on the other side the friends of the New Model rallied to its defense. The conflict reached its climax in 1647, when the army saved itself from being disbanded by overawing the hostile majority in parliament. Thenceforth the men at Westminster had to face the problem of the relation of the military force to the civil government. In December, 1648, the army itself effected an arbitrary solution of this

and many other problems by forcing out of parliament all members who would not implicitly sanction its violent method of dealing with a recalcitrant king.

The general situation just outlined is undeniably complex, but it is nonetheless a drastic simplification of the actual development of political groups in the Long Parliament. In the complexity of this development lies our key to "the problem of the Presbyterian Independents". The average Puritan commoner who, more or less willingly, joined the parliamentary Presbyterian Church never had a chance to choose between Presbyterianism and Independency, between persecution and toleration, between war and peace. Instead of having his choice between an ideal black and an ideal white he had to pick his way among an infinite variety of grays—shifting, unstable, uncertain. He could not choose between real Presbyterianism and real Independency because those alternatives were never offered him.[56] He had to choose, rather, between the flaccid, trussed-up Presbyterianism that parliament had established and the continually fluctuating program of the Independents, who shifted from Presbyterianism with toleration of dissent to Episcopacy with toleration of dissent to an undefined form of church government with toleration of dissent. Moreover at various times the Puritan member would find questions not immediately germane to the religious question influencing his attitude on church government. Might the establishment of Presbyterianism by parliament involve moral obligations to the Scottish foreigner? Was Presbyterianism worth the sacrifices of political principle that the moderates expected as the price of their co-operation? Could one conscientiously submit to the surrender of some of parliament's political demands in order to induce the king to accept Presbyterianism? How far could one trust the king to fulfill any promise he might make with regard to the settlement of the church? How good was the king's word? And if his word was worthless, what securities had parliament and the Puritans against his treachery? Might it not be better to cast him off altogether and remodel both church and state nearer to the heart's desire? But how would such a violent act consort with the Covenant that parliament had made with the Scots, before God, "to protect the

[56] In the early months of 1646, during the excommunication controversy, parliament did have a choice between real Presbyterianism and something else, but that something else was not real Independency or any other kind of Independency. Indeed as a part of their campaign to prevent the establishment of real Presbyterianism men like St. John accepted the form of a Presbyterian church government.

King's person"? So a member might start to examine his belief on the proper organization of the church and end by examining his belief on the proper organization of the state. Or he might start with the state and end with the church. Or he might start with either one and end with the question of the limits of religious toleration or of the danger of military dictatorship or democracy. On any issue that came to vote in parliament a member had to give his yea or his nay; but on a single issue twelve men might give their yeas for twelve different reasons. Their overt act would be identical, their underlying motives diverse.

To this rule the question of allegiance to the Commonwealth was no exception. Every member, Puritan or non-Puritan, had to decide whether to give his allegiance; but each man had his own reasons for his decision, and the number of permutations and combinations of possible reasons is enormous. The desire for religious toleration doubtless impelled many Independents to support the Commonwealth; but to argue that because many Independents were Commonwealthmen, therefore all Commonwealthmen were Independents is to indulge in a *non sequitur*. One could as well reason that because many grafters and profiteers were Commonwealthmen, therefore all Commonwealthmen were grafters and profiteers. In fact there were republicans in the Rump who cared little for Independency or toleration and Independents who cared little for republicanism. There were also officers playing the old army game of follow-the-leader and radical Puritans who felt that the Stuart dynasty was hopeless although they had no prepossessions in favor of Independency or republicanism or toleration. As in every other considerable political group, so in the Rump there were men who had taken the path of least resistance and men too cowardly to defy superior force, men who, having no principles, always turned up on the winning side and men whose principles bore a regular functional relation to their profits.[57] Most of the rumpers were, of course, Puritans. They believed in a national church, Puritan in doctrine and spirit. The church established by parliament in 1645-48 met these specifications. It

[57] Professor M. M. Knappen has brought to my attention a passage from Mrs. Hutchinson's biography of her husband which seems to bear out my hypothesis of the complex structure of the Rump parliament. She says: "Most of the Presbyterian faction, disgusted at this insolence [Pride's Purge], would no more come to their seats in the House; but the gentlemen who were of the other faction or of none at all, but looked upon themselves as called out to manage a public trust for their country, forsook not their seats while they were permitted to sit in the House". Lucy Hutchinson, *Life of Colonel John Hutchinson* (London, 1899), p. 331.

might be a little too Presbyterian for some and not quite Presbyterian enough for others, but still it would do; only papists, prelatists, and fanatics could find no place in it. Accordingly, many members who later sat in the Rump served as elders in the parliamentary Presbyterian Church. There was no reason why they should feel guilty of inconsistency because, in fact, they were not so.

Having suggested why, in our opinion, so many Commonwealthmen were members of the Presbyterian Church, we may attempt briefly to explain how the polymorphous group of regicides and rumpers came to be called Independents. To a generation that has observed the multiple and indiscriminate uses of the words "fascist", "communist", and "liberal" this explanation should present no serious difficulties. As soon as the Civil War got properly under way gentlemen on all sides started calling their opponents ugly names and themselves pretty ones. To hurl opprobrious epithets at the enemy was as integral a part of the combat as to slit the enemy's throat or pillage his wine-cellar, stable, and pig-pen. Indeed the fabrication of epithet is the only technique of warfare in which the Industrial Revolution has wrought no perceptible improvement. Among the labels, honorific and comminatory, which the factions pasted on themselves and each other during the Interregnum were Cavalier, Malignant, Delinquent, Papist, Loyalist, Royalist, Puritan, Roundhead, Brownist, Rebel, Commonwealthman, Republican, Cromwellian, Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, and Neuter. Some of these labels had meaning only with reference to the contemporary conflict. A "Rebel" was anybody fighting on the side opposite to you. "Neuter" was the name which, whatever side you were on, you would apply to anybody who did not share your enthusiasm for disemboweling the kingdom for the greater glory of God and the king, or God and the parliament. Other epithets, however, had besides their objurgatory value a permanent meaning. If you were a parliamentarian, a "Papist" would mean to you one on the king's side with a strenuous distrust for Puritanism, but a papist was at the same time and specifically a communicant of the Roman Catholic Church. As a parliamentarian you would have had no scruple about labeling Walter Montague and the Duke of Newcastle as "Papists"; but in fact while Montague was really a papist, Newcastle in a vague sort of way was a good Anglican.[58] What is true of the word "Papist" is equally true of the words "Presbyterian" and "Independent". In theological discussion a Presbyterian was a Calvinist be-

[58] For Walter Montague see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*: for Newcastle, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, *Memoirs of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle* (London, 1886), p. 185.

lieving in a specific form of church government and a specific method of ecclesiastical discipline. An Independent was a Calvinist who supported another specific form of church government and another specific method of ecclesiastical discipline. But if you were a member of the house or a pamphleteer during the Long Parliament and wanted to call somebody a bad name, you probably would not let fine-spun theological distinctions hamper you. If, for example, the somebody to be vilified had opposed the disbanding of the New Model army, got a job for his uncle through the good offices of Sir Henry Vane the younger, and voted to sequester the estates of your royalist brother-in-law, like as not you called that man "Independent" without examining too closely his religious position. Such an examination might have revealed that doctrinally the man was a reasonably orthodox Presbyterian. By calling him an "Independent" you would have made a small contribution to the general confusion about the nature of parties in the Long Parliament.

For the pamphleteer the supposititious division of the Long Parliament into two distinct parties may have served a useful purpose. One who has already divided the world into the forces of good and the forces of evil always finds it convenient to paste the same black label on all men and all things he dislikes, to see God on one side and the Devil on the other and in between a great gulf. The purposes of the historian are not—or should not be—identical with those of the pamphleteer. He should be less concerned to fix guilt than to understand the complex of forces that creates the form, the substance, and the texture of what he is examining. A historian studying the Civil War parliament, free from the prepossessions inflicted on him by the pamphleteer, is not likely to see it as the arena for a clean-cut struggle between two opposed parties. He will see, rather, an almost anarchic hurly-burly of men, in which all but the most doctrinaire are pulled in many different directions by many forces varying in their intensity as the circumstances vary. He will see these fluctuations in aspiration, belief, interest, and prejudice actualized in the forming, disintegrating, reforming, and shifting majorities in the house of commons. Eventually he may reach some conclusion as to the significance and relative importance of the various forces. But whether he reaches a conclusion or not, he will readily agree to the old but too often forgotten axiom of scholarship, that the purposes of knowledge and understanding are but poorly served by the arbitrary simplification of a really complex pattern.

J. H. Hexter.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

The Tariff Issue on the Eve of the Civil War

One of the outstanding features of Dr. and Mrs. Charles A. Beard's interpretation of the Civil War is its emphasis upon the tariff as a causal factor. In *The Rise of American Civilization* they stress the enthusiasm shown for the tariff platform at the Republican convention in Chicago and the crucial role that the tariff played in the Pennsylvania and New Jersey elections.[1] There can be little doubt that the condition of the iron and coal industries, always a great power in Pennsylvania politics, influenced the Republican platform on the tariff. That platform carried the state for Lincoln, and the presence of Pennsylvania in the Republican column was necessary to his election. This raises the question whether Pennsylvania and its industries represented an attitude prevailing in the North.

The tariff of 1857 was the lowest tariff enacted by Congress since 1816. The attitude of manufacturers toward that bill should serve as an index of the vitality of the tariff issue in the North. The record reveals that outside of Pennsylvania Northern industry offered no serious opposition to reduction. On the contrary, the reductions were welcomed. This was not because manufacturers were reductionists in principle, but because political exigencies led them to seek lowered duties on raw materials as a substitute for direct protection. Thus we find Senator Wilson of Massachusetts declaring during the debates that in his state the "merchants, manufacturers, mechanics and business men in all the departments of a various industry . . . are for the reduction of the revenues to the actual wants of an economical administration of the government". He said that he had received a note from Samuel Lawrence, in which the latter declared that "a reduction of the revenue alone would save the country from a commercial crisis . . . and that the manufacturers of Massachusetts were prepared to share with other interests in the reduction which the exigencies of the country now impose upon the American people".[2] Sherman of Ohio later spoke of the tariff of 1857 as "the manufacturers' bill", a characterization which was also

[1] C. A. and M. R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1933), II, 12, 31-40.

[2] *Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., app., p. 344.

expressed at the time of its passage by Stanton of Ohio and Letcher of Virginia.[3]

Certainly the majority of votes from the manufacturing states (other than Pennsylvania) was not cast against the reductions in the Hunter amendment of 1857. The roll call in the Senate shows every vote from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island cast for the bill; New York split its vote, Fish standing for and Seward against; the only vote cast from New Hampshire was favorable. In the House the votes from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were fourteen to one in favor of the measure. While Pennsylvania voted quite solidly against it, New York stood sixteen to eleven and New Jersey two to one in favor.[4]

Although the Hunter amendment, providing for a general reduction in all schedules, brought forth a sectional vote and a sectional controversy, the sections involved were not the North and the South. Nor was there a quarrel between manufactures and cotton. In the House all but three votes from the South, including Maryland, were in favor of reduction, but with this solid Southern front were allied the Northern states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Maine, and three fifths of New York. Outside of Pennsylvania the bulk of the opposition was drawn not from the manufacturing areas but from the agricultural and sheep-raising states of Vermont, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. It was this alignment which led one Ohio representative to speak of "the coalition of extreme sections of the country against the Northwest".[5]

The real conflict in 1857 was between the woolen manufacturers and the wool growers, both of whom had been in bad straits since the tariff of 1846. During the decade following 1850 the domestic wool producer had steadily lost ground in the face of foreign competition; by 1860 two thirds of all the wool consumed in the country were foreign.[6] The House ways and means committee in 1856 had ascribed the depression in wool growing and woolen manufactures to the tariff of 1846, which had raised the duties on raw wools to thirty per cent ad valorem and reduced that on flannels and blankets to twenty per

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 589; 36 Cong., 1 sess., p. 2053; see also J. L. Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures* (Philadelphia, 1864), II, 427.

[4] *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., p. 971, and app., p. 358. No votes were cast from New Jersey. The absence of a reference to a pertinent state in the text indicates either the absence of votes or votes too small in number to serve as an index of its attitude.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 749.

[6] W. C. Wright, *Wool Growers and the Tariff* (Boston, 1914), Harvard Economic Studies, V, 107-108.

cent.[7] Previously all wool priced at seven cents a pound or under had been taxed five per cent, and wools over seven cents had been taxed three cents a pound and thirty per cent. This increase in the cost of his raw material, as well as other factors unrelated to the tariff, had so handicapped the manufacturer that his extensive business in blankets and broadcloth had been destroyed. "The business was prostrated", the report declared, "by the premium which that act in effect offered to the foreign manufacturer, and the nominal protection of the wool grower resulted in the ruin of his business, as in that of the clothmaker. The home market was destroyed for the farmer; in the foreign he could not compete, and the flocks were sent to the slaughter because the woolen factories had been sold at auction or converted to other services." The wool growers would be crushed if raw wools were admitted free of duty, it was held, and seriously harmed as consumers if manufacturers were protected and increased their prices. On the other hand, if woolen goods were not protected, domestic manufactures would be ruined and the growers deprived of their only market. To meet this dilemma the committee advocated the exemption of all foreign wools costing less than fifteen and more than fifty cents a pound, the retention of duties on intermediate grades such as were produced at home, and the raising of duties on manufactures to adequate protection. The effect of this would be to lower the manufacturers' costs in those wools which did not compete with domestic production, protect their finished product from foreign competition, and compensate the wool growers by retaining the existing thirty per cent duties on competing foreign wools.[8]

A less satisfactory solution was set before the Senate in 1857 by Senator Hunter of Virginia in his amendment to the House revenue bill. The proposal to scale down duties on woolens from thirty to twenty-three per cent and on raw wool from thirty to eight per cent was strenuously resisted by Senator Pugh of Ohio, then the leading wool-growing state, and by Collamer of Vermont. It was charged that the disproportionate reduction was a scheme of woolen manufacturers in New England and New York to sacrifice the wool growers for their own aggrandizement. Wilson attempted to answer them by showing how seriously the tariff of 1846 had affected the woolen manufacturers; the making of finer woolens had all but ceased, he said, and thousands

[7] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, IX, 42-49.

[8] *House Report* no. 342, 34 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 21-24; Wright, pp. 110-12, 114; Edward Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1923), II, 92-93.

of dollars had been invested and lost in the manufacture of coarser cloth. The only remedy was general reduction; in this the manufacturers were willing to share.[9]

Hunter's argument had been that if the wool growers needed protection that was a sure sign that they could not sell abroad. Therefore they needed the domestic market and were dependent upon the prosperity of home manufacturers; whatever would help the manufacturer would be to the interest of the wool grower in the long run.[10] The opposition, however, could not be convinced of the practicability of what they regarded as a plan to enable the sellers of wool to sell dear and the buyers to buy cheap. Collamer's amendment to strike out the provision including wool in the eight per cent schedule was passed by the Senate by a 26-23 vote. In order that this measure might be passed it was necessary to swing the votes of some of the reductionists in the Senate. It is interesting to note that this willingness to compromise came largely from the South, while the representatives of manufacturing constituencies were generally adamant. Of eighteen Southern senators who were to vote for the Hunter amendment, seven stood for the Collamer proposal, while only one of nine northeastern senators made the same concession. It was finally agreed to admit free of duty cheap wools costing twenty cents a pound or less, and to levy a tariff of twenty-four per cent on better wools, which were likely to compete with domestic produce.[11]

It is obvious why the manufacturers urged a general reduction. It was impossible to get direct protection because of the hostility of the South and the indifference of many interests in the North. They chose, therefore, to obtain a reduction in costs as a substitute for protection by scaling down the duties on their raw materials. This policy applied not only to wools but also to Manila hemp, flax, raw silk, lead, tin, brass, hides, linseed, and other articles. So eager were the woolen manufacturers to get the reductions that one concern in Lowell, Massachusetts, spent $87,000 in promoting the passage of the bill.[12]

This explains the fact that manufacturers were not deeply averse to the raising of schedules after the South seceded. What is most significant with respect to the causation of the Civil War is the fact that there was no open hostility on this issue at the time between these manufacturers and the South that might have been exploited for a partisan purpose. Whatever latent hostility may have existed was kept from active expression by the admission of cheap raw wool free of

[9] *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., app., pp. 337-42. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 330.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 357; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XI, 192-95. [12] Stanwood, II, 109-10.

duty. Unsatisfactory as this was to the wool growers, it had the desired effect upon manufacturers. The industry revived, and Senator Hunter was later able to point triumphantly to the absence of a strong demand by manufacturers for a change in schedules.[13]

It was not such a demand which prompted the upward revision proposed by Morrill in 1860 and passed in 1861 after the first bloc of Southern states had seceded. The most important direct changes in the act, the increased duties on iron and wool, were plainly written with an eye on the coming elections, "to attach to the Republican party Pennsylvania and some of the western states".[14] In Pennsylvania the tariff issue did its work, but elsewhere manufacturers were aloof. Rice of Massachusetts declared that they asked for no additional protection; Sherman said that they had "asked over and over again to be let alone"; and Morrill himself admitted in later years that his tariff "was not asked for and but coldly welcomed by the manufacturers".[15]

In February, 1861, the Senate was petitioned by the Chamber of Commerce of New York not to pass the Morrill Bill. It was argued that it would seriously affect commerce and the revenue, and that the growing sentiment for its repeal would deter manufacturers from erecting new mills and buying new machinery. An equally important objection was that the passage of the bill would widen the existing breach between the North and the South.[16]

It is well known that commercial and financial capital in the North was, on the whole, strongly opposed to Lincoln's election.[17] Merchants were apprehensive that it might result in cancellation of orders from the South, and bankers expected the repudiation of Southern debts amounting to over $200,000,000, if the South should secede.[18] The opposition press made a concerted effort to frighten business and financial interests. Merchants contributed so lavishly to the Fusion ticket in New York that Lincoln was disturbed.[19] When panic broke out in Wall Street during the latter days of October, the Republican press claimed that it had been fostered by heavy stock sales on the part

[13] *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., p. 3010.

[14] F. W. Taussig, *Tariff History of the United States* (New York, 1931), p. 169. See also W. B. Parker, *The Life and Public Services of J. S. Morrill* (Boston, 1924), p. 85.

[15] Taussig, p. 160, n. [16] *Senate Misc. Doc.* no. 18, 36 Cong., 2 sess.

[17] A. C. Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict* (New York, 1934), pp. 279-84. H. Greeley, *The American Conflict* (Hartford, 1864), I, 326-27.

[18] A. C. Cole, "Lincoln's Election an Immediate Menace to Slavery in the States?" *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI (1931), 758-59.

[19] T. W. Barnes, *Memoir of Thurlow Weed* (Boston, 1884), II, 297-300.

of Fusionists and Southern bankers and stockjobbers. The *New York Daily Tribune* charged Secretary of the Treasury Cobb with complicity in the scheme on the ground that he withheld the sale of government loans.[20] After the election Horace Greeley complained of the intensity and unanimity of the "commercial furor" against the Republican party and compared it to that aroused by the bank controversy of 1832-38.[21]

The fears of the mercantile interests were shared by many manufacturers, whose concern for Southern markets was much greater than their interest in tariffs. Early in 1860 a group of Connecticut manufacturers had censured the spirit of sectionalism associated with the Republican party.[22] Manufacturers in Newark and New York City attempted to induce their workers to vote the Fusion ticket.[23] On the eve of the election the *New York Herald* reported that eleven hundred mill workers in one Connecticut town had been discharged because of a dearth of orders from the South.[24] When the election returns were in, one Newark paper, disappointed at the fact that New Jersey was the only free state which failed to cast its entire electoral vote for Lincoln, attributed this defection to the manufacturers, who "simply desire to know what would be gratifying to those Southern traders who seek to buy their principles with their goods".[25]

While Pennsylvania capital provided the dynamic element in the movement for a higher tariff, manufacturers elsewhere were divided. If the votes and statements of congressional representatives of manufacturing constituencies are conceived to have any close relation to their interests, the majority of the manufacturers appear to have desired reduction in 1857. The example of the woolen manufacturers offers a clue to the strategy of this group. Adversely affected by the tariff of 1846, they had the alternative of working for greater protection or lowering costs through reduced duties on their raw materials. In choosing the latter course, they chose to do parliamentary battle with the Western wool growers rather than the Southern planters. Their satisfaction with the effect of the tariff of 1857 left them indifferent, or actually hostile, to any further changes in 1860.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER.

New York City.

[20] Oct. 26, 1860; see also *Newark Daily Mercury*, Oct. 31, Nov. 3.

[21] *New York Daily Tribune*, Nov. 8. [22] Cole, *Irrepressible Conflict*, p. 280.

[23] *New York Daily Tribune*, Oct. 29; *New York Herald*, Oct. 31; *Newark Daily Mercury*, Nov. 1.

[24] Nov. 6. [25] *Newark Daily Mercury*, Nov. 9.

DOCUMENTS

England and the Confederacy

A letter of Sir William Henry Gregory

The discovery of new sources on Anglo-Confederate relations and the re-examination of old material have shed new light on the question of the recognition of the Confederacy by Great Britain. An unsigned letter of Sir William Henry Gregory, found among the papers of John Rutherfoord, now owned by Duke University, may contribute further to the elucidation of this subject. It is now published for the first time.

Gregory, a member of the Irish landlord class and representative of Galway in the house of commons, achieved distinction as a statesman and in other fields as well. During the latter part of 1859 he traveled in the United States, where he formed friendships and made observations that influenced him to champion the Confederacy. In New York he found the merchants ardent in their vindication of slavery, and in Washington he fell under the influence of the Southern members of Congress. Actuated by motives of imperialism, Gregory reasoned, from previous opposition of the South to the Northern protective system, that an independent Confederacy would provide England with a reliable source of raw materials as well as a market for manufactured goods. Moreover, he felt that a republic in the South would counteract the power of the United States, thereby preventing raids and filibustering expeditions into Canada and the British West Indies. Finally, influenced by national pride, he felt a contempt for the North, whose politicians frequently made insulting remarks about Great Britain in order to obtain the Irish immigrant vote.[1]

John Rutherfoord, the recipient of Gregory's letter, was a Virginian of distinction. Migrating from Scotland, Rutherfoord's father had settled in Richmond a few years after the Revolutionary War. In 1863 John Rutherfoord still had rather close connections in the British Isles, the nearest being a cousin, Alexander Hawksley Rutherfoord of Carlingford, Ireland. In 1851 Rutherfoord's son, John Coles Ruther-

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement, II, 355-57; Lady Augusta Gregory, ed., *Sir William Gregory, K. C. M. G.: An Autobiography* (London, 1894), pp. 214-16; Frank Lawrence Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy* (Chicago, 1931), pp. 205-206.

foord, traveled in England, where he was introduced to Gregory by an English friend, Philip Reade. In addition to these indirect connections, Gregory, when on his tour of the United States, met Rutherfoord at Richmond.[2]

Among the Confederate lobbyists in parliament, who included such men as A. J. B. Beresford-Hope and W. S. Lindsay, Gregory was conspicuous for his energy. In 1861 he introduced a bill for recognition of the Confederate government. At about the same time he arranged for the Confederate commissioners to meet Lord John Russell, wrote letters to the *Times* in behalf of the South, and was generally active in support of the Confederate cause.[3] Gregory's early efforts in behalf of Southern independence were followed early in 1862 by an attack on the blockade, and in July of the same year he aided Lindsay in an unsuccessful endeavor to obtain mediation.[4] In the early spring of 1863, however, Gregory and other Confederate sympathizers purposely postponed for the time being the question of recognition since it seemed that such action would be of no profit to the South and might embroil Great Britain with the North.[5] It was at this point that Gregory wrote the letter printed below. Though it may seem to savor of rationalization designed to appease the South for the failure of parliament to recognize the Confederacy, its content cannot be dismissed as specious reasoning. England, Gregory was convinced, believed in the final success of the South but, not wishing to become involved in war with the United States, should bide her time until the advent of decisive Confederate military success. It is not surprising, therefore, that with news of the Southern victory at Chancellorsville, the Confederate lobby at once began an intensive campaign for recognition of the Confederacy.[6]

This campaign was under way by the beginning of June, 1863. Mass meetings in northern and western England were addressed by James Spence, a native propagandist, and by J. A. Roebuck, a member of parliament. Confederate agents began to give the question pub-

[2] *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, V, 355-56; John Rutherfoord to Alexander Hawksley Rutherfoord, April 2, 1860, in John Rutherfoord's letter book, which is included in his papers now in the library of Duke University.

[3] Donaldson Jordan and Edwin J. Pratt, *Europe and the American Civil War* (Boston, 1931), pp. 89, 99; Owsley, pp. 57, 63, 186, 193, 303; E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (New York, 1925), I, 90-91, 267.

[4] Owsley, pp. 244-46, 338; Adams, pp. 267-72. [5] Owsley, p. 463.

[6] Jordan and Pratt, p. 184; Owsley, pp. 464-65.

licity in London, and the lobby planned to attack the blockade in parliament.[7] But these early moves were merely preliminary steps designed to pave the way for the Roebuck motion to reconsider the question of recognition. The Confederates and their British friends turned to France for co-operation. Not only did John Slidell secure the active interest of Napoleon III in a friendly interview, but two members of parliament, Roebuck and Lindsay, were also granted an interview by Napoleon on the same subject. The Roebuck motion was before parliament by June 30, 1863, but because of injudicious strategy and distrust on the part of both Napoleon and Russell, the move was a failure.[8] Even, however, after the failure of the Roebuck motion, which was the most energetic move for recognition, activities were continued by the English-Confederate lobby, in the form of petitions, monetary contributions, and synthetic mass meetings, until late in 1864.[9]

NANNIE M. TILLEY.

Duke University.

SIR WILLIAM GREGORY TO JOHN RUTHERFOORD

London.
March 5, 1863.

My dear Sir,

I send you a letter, I believe from your son,[10] which I trust will reach you Safely — Mr. Philip Reade [11] wrote to me Some time since to ask me if I had any Safe means of conveyance of letters to the Confederate States and I told him in reply that it would be my greatest pleasure to Endeavor to open Safe communication between your Son [12] and his family. Mr. Reade was under the impression that that if Mr. Seward [13] was made aware that the letters were purely of a domestic character having no reference to public affairs, he would allow them to pass — I told him in reply that he little knew the animus of that gentleman and his colleagues if he thought

[7] Owsley, pp. 191-92, 466; Jordan and Pratt, pp. 184-85.

[8] J. M. Callahan, "Diplomatic Relations of the Confederate States with England (1861-1865)", *Annual Report*, American Historical Association, 1898, p. 182; Owsley, pp. 466-79; Jordan and Pratt, pp. 185-86.

[9] Owsley, pp. 192-95.

[10] A mistake on Gregory's part; it was from Rutherfoord's nephew, James Rutherfoord, who had been attending the University of Heidelberg since the fall of 1859. See an undated fragment in the Rutherfoord collection.

[11] An Englishman who was a friend of John Coles Rutherfoord.

[12] James Rutherfoord, the nephew.

[13] William H. Seward, Secretary of State under Lincoln.

them Capable of taking one step Calculated to diminish the asperities of war.[14]

We are in Europe Somewhat distracted from the intense interest, which has hitherto been undivided, with which we have been watching the progress of the great struggle in which you are engaged — The horrible barbarities exercised by Russia in Poland, and the threatening anarchy in Greece, are being regarded with great anxiety — The possibilities of the Emperor of the French [Napoleon III] being Engaged in a war with Prussia diminishes the impression which not long ago prevailed among many persons, that the French answer to Mr. Sewards insolent dispatch would be recognition of the Southern Republic —

We, as far as I can gather, will still maintain the so called attitude of neutrality for which we have received such wholesale and unmeasured abuse from all parties in the North, though I Entirely agree with President Davis that the North is the belligerent that has really derived Strength from this neutrality — a neutrality which has recognized fictitious blockade, contrary to the clear understanding on which the Richmond Government accepted at our proposal the 4th Declaration of the Congress of Paris in 1856. Although I firmly believe that in both Houses of Parliament, consisting of over 1000 persons, there are not thirty who do not heart & Soul sympathize with the South, who do not welcome with joy and pride Each Successive detail of the glorious achievements of your countrymen, yet on the whole the feeling of both political parties Whigs & Tories, is against recognition. The impression is that the independence of the South is a "fait accompli"; that recognition cannot promote but may retard it & reuniting against what would be termed British "insolence," "interference" "domination" &c &c both republicans and Democrats. We do not think that disgust for the war is yet Sufficiently strong that the action of Europe would be welcomed — We think the time will come ere long, after the failure of the present campaign, when it will be welcomed. In the mean while any step taken by us would be treated with insolence and possibly hostility, which would only inflame resentments and possibly protract the war.

I strongly advocated recognition on the occasion of the Secession before a shot had been fired — I did so because I believe in the rights of Secession & State Sovereignty — I subsequently took the Same Course because I believed that Southern Independence was of such importance to England that to Secure it, I would not have hesitated to risk a war. Now I see no great object to be obtained by recognition. We all look on the South as having gained its End, and as I have said before we may retard peace but not accelerate it by taking any step — I believe, although your countrymen are sorely irritated against our Government that they will remember how we have resisted all the strong appeals to the anti slavery feeling of England, and that the English press has with one accord almost been thoroughly with you. Hence my hopes are that our relations with

[14] For communicating with his friends in the Confederacy, Gregory had a regular channel which, in Richmond, was under the direction of Lawrence Q. Washington. This letter was enclosed in a package from Alexander Hawksley Rutherfoord to John Rutherfoord, evidently smuggled in through Gregory's influence.

the Southern States will be of the happiest character — I look forward to visiting the "Old Dominion" again, but I fear I shall find many gaps among the kind friends whom I met there in 1859 — I do not Sign my name for various reasons, but should you ever wish to let me [hear] from you, pray direct under cover to A. Bate Esqre 5 Upper Sackville St. Dublin — Believe me yours very sincerely — Porcher Miles[15] or Lawley[16] will tell you whose handwriting this is.

[15] William Porcher Miles, a prominent politician, scholar, and planter, served in the United States Congress as a member from South Carolina from 1857 to 1860 and in the Confederate Congress. *Dictionary of American Biography,* XII, 616-17.

[16] Francis Charles Lawley, a member of parliament for a short time, was a sportsman and journalist who served as the special correspondent of the London *Times* with the Confederate army during the Civil War. He was in close contact with Generals Stonewall Jackson, Longstreet, and Stuart. Sir William Henry Gregory and Lawley were intimate friends. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion,* ser. II, vol. V, p. 197; *Dict. Nat. Biog.,* Suppl., II, 355-57, Second suppl., II, 426-27.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

Environment, Race, and Migration: Fundamentals of Human Distribution, with Special Sections on Racial Classification and Settlement in Canada and Australia. By GRIFFITH TAYLOR, Head of the Department of Geography, University of Toronto. (Chicago: Chicago University Press. 1937. Pp. xv, 483. $4.00.)

THE unique contribution of Professor Griffith Taylor has been the application to the facts of the world-wide distribution of racial groups of W. D. Mathews's principles as to migrations of mammalian species from an Asiatic center of evolution. Each of the continental peninsulas is seen as a periphery radiating from the supposed single Asiatic center. The earliest and "least evolved" peoples are, according to this view, to be found in the remotest peripheries, and the latest and "most evolved" at or near the Asiatic center. The peoples of the world are regarded as classifiable into five or six groups, serial with regard to order and "highness" of evolution. Head form is emphasized in making this classification; the evolution of races has been from longheadedness to roundheadedness; the Alpines and the Mongoloids taken together are regarded as the most highly evolved type; to account for the existence of a roundheaded Negroid people, the Pygmies, it is argued that they developed from a separate evolutionary branch. The distributional facts as to race, culture, and even language are explained in accordance with this theory.

That the distribution of peoples, in accordance with these principles, gives some clue to the history of man is probably to be accepted. That the history of man in its detail, as presented by Taylor, was as he represents it, is highly doubtful. The elements that have gone to make up human history are too many and have interacted in too complex a manner to make it possible to write that history in the light of these principles (modified somewhat by special environmental explanation) alone. The author neglects most of the particular work that has been done on the racial history of particular areas. Further, his disregard of important facts and his summary and cavalier treatment of countless particular problems contribute to the critical reader's lack of confidence in the results. Mere samples of these weaknesses may be noted here: the omission of pilosity as an element in race classification and the distortion of the facts as to nasal breadth (p. 55); the statement that descent through the mother implies a more primitive development than descent through the father (p. 95); the statements that

American languages are polysynthetic (p. 49), and that American Indians of the western regions speak languages "of a more advanced type" (p. 50).

As was the case with *Environment and Race* (1927), of which the present volume is a revision and enlargement, this book is not a consecutive argument but a collection of essays. Many of the chapters deal with another matter: the settlement of certain large areas. To this volume the author has added chapters dealing with settlement in Canada, has added to old chapters on colonization in Australia, and has laid emphasis on new settlement in Siberia and Africa. The book remains a bold, indeed a reckless, adventure of an original and creative mind; because of weaknesses in critical judgment and lack of respect for certain facts, its announced achievements are likely, in the long run, to turn out to be less than its effects in stimulating more pedestrian workers.

The contribution made through devising new forms of graphic representation is one of considerable importance.

The University of Chicago. ROBERT REDFIELD.

Race: A Study in Modern Superstition. By JACQUES BARZUN. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1937. Pp. x, 353. $2.50.)

THOUGH the author regards this volume as a critical history of thought on race, it can hardly qualify as a calm weighing of evidence. It bristles with ridicule and denunciation. The fundamental point seems to be that any kind of thinking which assumes a relation between intellect and biological functioning starts wrong and so can never be right. The author thinks that Tacitus started the Nordic illusion when he expressed admiration for the homogeneity of the Germans, regarding them as fine specimens. Similar statements can be found in later literature about the Polynesians, the Araucans, *et al.*, but no note is taken of these, the author's foci being Germany, France, and England, each of which has at all times been proud of its achievements, symbolized as Nordic, Celt, and Saxon. The author regards all such symbols as transparent fictions. Next he turns to anthropology, for which he has little tolerance because he thinks that race must be material or nothing, and since to him there is no such material entity or reality as race, there can be no science of anthropology. He seems to look upon such distinctions as Neanderthal, Pithecanthropus, etc. as pitiful manifestations of pernicious race thinking.

Like most writers upon this subject, the author blames Gobineau for the present West European worship of the fake god, race, and gives a long analysis of Gobineau's writings, showing for one thing that he was not always consistent. Professor Barzun claims to have discovered that evaluations and adverse criticisms of the fine arts are expressions of belief in race. His selected quotations seem to show that these particular art critics attempted to explain national differences in painting, music, etc. by emotions

and ethics. Probably they doubted that these arts were arrived at by reason, so they attributed them to race. Yet few of the writers quoted seem to have thought it necessary to define what they meant by the symbols "race and blood". Noting that the quotations are from men and women living at different times, the reader is justified in doubting that they all used these symbols to mean the same thing. The author believes that they did.

Again, race is claimed as an important motivating factor in the nationalistic wars of 1870-1914. When the author says that race, army, and nation explain Germany since the rise of Prussia, he excites our interest, but the succeeding pages leave us in doubt as to whether these same factors do not operate in France, Italy, Japan, etc. as they did among the Iroquois Indians, the Aztecs, and the Incas. Perhaps the method is historical in that it searches through documentary materials to collect remarks which seem to explain or justify current events in terms of race. What the reader asks to be shown is that such remarks about race were the primary motivating factors making war inevitable rather than explanations and justifications after the hostile act. We cannot see that the author faces this question. Nor does he look beyond Europe for examples of race thinking. When an American Indian regards himself as fortunate in being neither a White, a Chinese, nor a Negro, is he not engaged in "race mania"? The author would probably say that the Indians were nationalistic and not race-minded, but the Indian tried to exterminate the White man as the source of White culture. We doubt if the phenomenon is any more frequent in Europe than elsewhere or if "race-thinking" is something so modern as to originate with Gobineau. If the author's purpose is to prove that the logic of "race-thinking" is faulty, his historical perspective should be of some help, but the problem is to prove that there is no such thing as race in the world. What can perhaps be proved by his method is that most people assume that races exist and seek to survive by destroying each other. That "race mania" explains all this remains to be seen.

This book is a vigorous attack upon "race-thinking", the opposite extreme to those which defend the concepts of race purity. Taken together, such books may give perspective.

The American Museum of Natural History. CLARK WISSLER.

Race Attitudes in South Africa: Historical, Experimental, and Psychological Studies. By I. D. MACCRONE, Professor of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. (New York: Oxford University Press, on behalf of the University of the Witwatersrand. 1937. Pp. xiii, 328. $4.25.)

THE thesis of this valuable historical and psychological study is that in any total situation of racial antagonism the social and psychological attitudes of the dominant group are of paramount importance and that no improvement in the situation is possible until these social attitudes are under-

stood and appreciated. This is as true of the Southern Whites in the United States and of the British in India as it is of the Europeans in South Africa. This study, therefore, has much more than South African importance and deserves to be studied carefully by all concerned with what is called the race problem. Unfortunately, Dr. MacCrone does not deal with the equally important but much more difficult question of the social and psychological attitudes of the dependent group, for without an appreciation of these psychological phenomena also no solution of the race problem is possible.

In seeking to determine the social attitudes of the Whites, Professor MacCrone follows three different approaches, the historical, the experimental, and the psychological, so that in this volume we have three separate but equally important studies.

On the historical side the author goes back to the history of South Africa from the settlement of the Cape in 1652 to the beginning of the nineteenth century and, making a new use of the rich archives of South Africa, shows how the social attitudes of the Whites changed from the antagonism of the Christian for the heathen to the antagonism of the White for the Black. Contributing factors were slavery, cultural differences, isolation, the numerical strength of the Blacks, and the psychology of a frontier society. It is to be regretted that the author did not carry his historical studies further, for the Kafir wars during and after the Great Trek, the increasing economic competition of the present century, and the disturbing expression on the part of the natives of their inferiority complex are equally important elements in the total perplexing situation today.

In the second part of his study Professor MacCrone explains the development and use of his scientifically prepared scale for the quantitative measurement of race attitudes. Making use of English-speaking, Afrikaans-speaking, Jewish, and Native university students as subjects, he arrives at some interesting conclusions, not only with regard to the varying attitude of the White towards the Native but with regard to the attitude of the Whites towards their own group and towards other national groups in the country. Thus among the English-speaking students there is a much more favorable attitude towards the Natives than among the Afrikaans-speaking students, and of the English-speaking students, the women are more favorable than the men. A similar test in this country among Northern and Southern students would probably produce a similar result, though in South Africa the English-speaking students have as much contact with the Natives as do the Afrikaans-speaking students. Again, Jewish students are more favorably inclined towards Natives than are any other groups, a fact that could also be paralleled in this country.

The fact that both English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking students are more tolerant of Natives than they are of the "colored" (mulatto) and East Indian groups raises interesting speculations. Just as the typical

Southerner prefers the so-called "pure" Negro to the mulatto, so the white man in South Africa prefers the man most different from himself to the one who is nearer to him in color and social habits. Generally speaking, the Afrikaans-speaking students are less tolerant of themselves, of the Natives, and of all other groups than are the English-speaking students.

It is facts like these that lead Professor MacCrone to the conclusion in Part III of his book that the basis of racial antipathy must be sought for not so much in gregariousness or in conditioning as in psychoanalysis and the working of motives hidden in the unconscious mind. If he is correct, and his argument is most reasonable, it will be necessary to regard race prejudice, if not as something "instinctive", at least as something deep in the human mind, and the task of producing race harmony becomes more difficult than ever.

Yale University. CHARLES T. LORAM.

A History of the Business Man. By MIRIAM BEARD. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. vi, 779. $5.00.)

THERE is no thesis expressed in this challenging book. Rather do we find the business man set forth in a very general way from ancient times to the present. There is least space devoted to the business man of the earliest and most recent periods. Although a large part of the world is included, even China and Japan, most attention is given to European peoples. Ancient Greeks and medieval Hanseatics deserve more attention than they receive. The surprising omission, however, is the Jewish business man. No other group has been so influential in all recorded history and in so many parts of the world.

The author has relied chiefly upon secondary sources, such as Sombart, Brentano, Ehrenberg, and Strieder. She has made frequent use of dramas, histories, and treatises of the various periods considered. Wide as is her literary sweep, we find serious omissions of monographs such as George Unwin's *Industrial Organization in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* A study of this suggestive work might have given the author a greater insight into business activities and relationships.

The business man is treated as a type. He is not analyzed or studied from within. He is looked upon as a figure that struts across the stage of history, generally fat and silent. The author herself shines through the pages at times, at other times she peeks through, but she is never far away. There is a literary flavor that is attractive. Now and again there is a touch of economic interpretation, often a streak of art, and always a dash of the intellectual. The author has an incorrigible habit of scourging the people she introduces. In this book there is lightness and brightness but no sweetness.

In no sense could this intriguing work be called a business history.

Business policy and management are touched upon only remotely and sparingly. The functions of the business man are assumed. The distinctions between the different classes of business men are not understood or carefully examined (see p. 538). Changes in business are not dealt with. The quite erroneous statement is made that at the time of Napoleon the English "had just then begun to be a nation of industralists, and their shop-keeping era was drawing to its close" (p. 442). There is so little business history in the book that it is not fair to judge the work from that standpoint. In truth, it is a movie history of business men, somewhat miscellaneous but very valuable as a first introduction to much scattered material.

So many readers will be disappointed! The business historian sees no understanding of the work of the business man. The Marxian sees no evidence for the business man's doom. The capitalist sees no appreciation of the services performed. Only the intellectual will really enjoy the reading of this book—or parts of it, for he will tire of continuous effort. He will find here a kind of historical Pujo Committee Report—an ex parte statement that will provide for a decade evidence of crass materialism or worse in the business man or in his family.

The following passage is representative of the worst of the book:

> Over the heads of their weary titans, the social queens fought their battles for precedence, during the six or seven weeks of the season, spending up to $300,000 per week or per ball, according to the resources behind them. One of the fiercest tussles was waged between Mamie Fish and Mary Harriman, wives of railroad magnates, who severed their husbands' business friendship. They gave one another no quarter, these powerful women whose rubicund faces, with bold chins and big eyes, stare at one from many an old tintype. Their strife went on until, with a flounce and a flashing triumph, one of them would deseat another on the red cushions of Mrs. Astor's divan, known as "The Throne." Thus, with their merciless campaigns, conducted regardless of expense, they formed a competitive social life mirroring the economic warfare of their lockjawed menfolk.

The book has merits that justify its use by historians. It is a contribution to socio-cultural history. Lengthwise, into the pattern of our civilization has been woven the figure of the business man, not placed opposite to the workman but to the landed aristocrat (and the intellectual). To the author a wholly respectable funeral of an aristocrat is more acceptable than the clamor of the busy market place. But, apart from this, the subject at hand receives broad historical notice. Everywhere there is insight into the age being dealt with. And always there is welcome evidence of a flair for literary and artistic values. Viewed as a literary whole, however, the work suffers from the lack of a unifying thesis. The business hero proves to be no hero at all, accomplishes little, and grasps political power only to lose it.

He is a good target, however, for you can always see his ornate and ample figure. It is difficult to make a hero out of a caricature.

Errors of fact in a book so ample as this one are to be expected. The Rossetti stone should, of course, be the Rosetta stone. Usselinx was not Dutch but an Antwerper. Josiah Wedgwood was never knighted.

The historian will be most bothered by frequent unscholarly use of sources. Time and time again, contemporary diatribes and satires are quoted or referred to as though they should be accepted at their face value. The historian will also be concerned about unscholarly judgments made without reference to the practices and ideals prevailing at the time. Such judgments have no historic value whatsoever. Where the author is describing a civilization as set forth in scholarly monographs she does well; but when making her own way among contemporary sources dealing with the business man she is less successful.

Harvard University. N. S. B. Gras.

Les invasions barbares et le peuplement de l'Europe: Introduction à l'intelligence des derniers traités de paix. Par Ferdinand Lot, professeur honoraire à la Sorbonne, membre de l'Institut. Tome I, *Arabes et Maures, Scandinaves, Slaves du Sud, Slaves du Centre.* [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1937. Pp. 349. 40 fr.)

Les barbares des grandes invasions aux conquêtes turques du XI^e^ siècle. Par Louis Halphen, membre de l'Institut. Troisième édition, revue et augmentée. [Peuples et civilisations.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1936. Pp. 446. 50 fr.)

Professor Lot's publication is the first of two volumes designed to form the sequel to his *Les invasions germaniques*, 1935 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII, 97-99). It brings into high relief the differences in consequence for Europe between the Saracen, the Scandinavian, and the Slavonic expansion movements of the early Middle Ages. In none of the European lands which the Saracens invaded—if the Mediterranean island of Pantelleria be left out of account—were they destined to root themselves permanently, except to a slight extent in southern Spain and in Sicily, whose present-day populations show some traces of Moorish and Arabic admixture respectively. Considerable numbers of Danes and Norwegians settled in Normandy, Britain, and Ireland, but their descendants in these several countries have become so thoroughly assimilated as to be indistinguishable from the rest of the population. It is evident, then, that neither the Saracen nor the Scandinavian expansion effected any transformation of the antecedent racial stocks in Western Europe. M. Lot freely recognizes the services of the Saracen rulers in Spain as preservers and promoters of urban civilization and as patrons of culture but emphasizes the point that Spanish Moslem culture was only in small part a product of Arabic or of Moorish genius. As for

Saracen influence upon the development of European medieval culture, he contends, apparently with good reason, that it has been for the most part greatly overrated. The stagnation of the economic life of Western and Central Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries he would not ascribe, as did the late Henri Pirenne, to the occupation of the Mediterranean by the Moslems but rather to the piracy and the all-destroying forays of the Vikings. In Normandy, England, Scotland, and Ireland (not to mention the western islands) the Scandinavians did, it is true, leave legacies of other kinds—linguistic, onomastic, institutional, literary, psychological, as well as ethnic. Yet the fact of capital importance is that they gave no new turn to the evolution of French, English, Scotch, or Irish national traits.

Wholly different was the outcome of Slavonic expansion. For the Slavs as they spread into alien regions displaced or absorbed the indigenous populations, with the result that the ethnical aspect of central and eastern Europe was completely changed, and new nations arose in this part of the continent. M. Lot recounts succinctly the respective fortunes of southern Slavs, western Slavs, and Balts, and of the several national or quasi-national groups into which they have divided, his *terminus ad quem* being approximately the eve of the World War. The question is raised whether the new nations have preserved through the centuries a veritable national sentiment, despite intermittent subjection to foreign domination. This problem, the author submits, ought to be investigated, because virtual nationality lies at the base of the constitution of Europe as determined by the peace treaties of 1919-1923. The racial characteristics that markedly distinguish the southern branch of Slavdom from the western and eastern branches can be accounted for, in his judgment, only on the hypothesis of a fusion of its members with antecedent Illyrian and Pannonian peoples in the region between the Drave and the Adriatic. His inquiry into the origin of the Rumanians leads, in sum, to the following conclusion: there can be little doubt that they are descendants of the ancient Dacians, all of whom were removed (*ca.* 271 A.D.) to Illyricum, where their Romanization was completed; from Illyricum they trekked in the ninth and tenth centuries to Transylvania, spreading subsequently into Walachia and Moldavia.

As a whole this volume is a brilliant study in comparative history, marked by ripe erudition and skillful utilization of pertinent findings of research in related fields, such as anthropology, philology, and place-names.

The third edition of Professor Halphen's book does not differ essentially, as far as text and notes are concerned, from the first edition, 1926 (*Am. His. Rev.*, XXXII, 573-74), the pagination of which required but few changes (pp. 322-23, 376-79). Of a total of about seventy emendations in the second (1930) and third editions together, the latter has less than twenty that are new. A conclusion, a bibliographical supplement, a very good index, and two folding maps in black and white were added to the

second edition and have, of course, been retained in the third. The bibliographical data as now revised yield an excellent up-to-date and annotated list of essential secondary works pertaining to the early Middle Ages. In the conclusion and also in the body of the text (especially pp. 307-309) M. Halphen expresses opinions concerning the significance of the "Barbarian" expansion movements which it will be found profitable and suggestive to compare with the ideas of M. Lot on the same subject.

The University of Chicago. EINAR JORANSON.

Bevölkerungsgeschichte Italiens. Band I, *Grundlagen; die Bevölkerung Siziliens und des Königreichs Neapel.* Von KARL JULIUS BELOCH. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1937. Pp. viii, 284. 14 M.)

IN this first volume of a proposed history of the population of Italy are included three of the twelve sections projected for the entire work. The succeeding nine sections were to apply the norms of the *Grundlagen*, which treat of lines of approach and sources, to the remaining provinces of the peninsula. As the author died before this volume went to press and no statement is made regarding the missing sections, the reader is left with the impression that the enterprise is not likely to be brought to a conclusion.

Since sections two and three contain all kinds of population data which bear on Sicily and Naples since the fourteenth century but which are incapable of being checked except by reference to the archival sources whence they are drawn, the American reviewer is not in a position to pronounce on the accuracy with which the work has been done. He must needs content himself with an examination of the *Grundlagen*, which serve as an introduction to the enterprise and reveal the author's scope and method.

Resolved to treat of Italian population from the Middle Ages to the present day, Professor Beloch employs for the earliest period all pertinent matter he can glean from the source material on the youthful communes. Among these data are the lists of citizens capable of bearing arms, the enumeration of the hearths made for the purpose of laying the hearth tax, the lists of property holders carried on the *estimi* and *catasti*, and the numbers of *bocche* (mouths) more or less speculatively arrived at in the interest of a regulated bread supply. The author is never done with telling us that these imperfectly ascertained and always unreliable tallies must be taken with the greatest caution. As we do not get very far without an analysis of population figures, he embraces in his investigation as many matters of interest to population students as his evidence permits. Among them are the ratio of male to female births, the distribution of population in a given town or region by age classes as well as by professions and occupations, and the life expectancy of the individual, noting the sudden leap in longevity setting in with the nineteenth century. A very important

item is the frequency and mortality of epidemics. The figures for the Black Death given by panicky contemporaries are considered to have been wild exaggerations. This vicious pestilence remained endemic for three centuries, to vanish with the seventeenth century for no reason that the author is able to assign. The figures for the last two appearances (1630, 1665) are fairly accurate and are so frightfully high that, even if the mortality reported for the scourge of 1348 was grossly exaggerated, the visitation must nonetheless have had all the terrors of a massacre. The more reliable figures for the two seventeenth century epidemics are due to the fact that from the fifteenth century on the Italian governments began gradually to see the advantage of a regularly conducted civil census and hesitantly introduced it as a means toward a more intelligent public policy. It was not, however, till the eighteenth century that interest in population statistics became lively enough to impose a fairly regular and complete census. Not till the nineteenth century, as everyone knows, did the census in Italy, or anywhere else for that matter, acquire the scientific character which furnishes us a solid underpinning in place of the earlier statistical quicksands.

The University of Chicago. FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Sussex. Volume IX. Edited by L. F. SALZMAN. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xv, 279. $25.00.)

The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Northamptonshire. Volume IV. Edited by L. F. SALZMAN. (*Ibid.* Pp. xv, 300. $25.00.)

THIS ninth volume of the Victoria History of the County of Sussex is the hundredth volume in the entire series, the fourth to appear for Sussex, and the first devoted to one of the five rapes into which the county is divided vertically. It contains the topographical history of the rape of the Hastings, which lies at the extreme eastern end of the shire. These rapes, each of which was at the time of *Domesday Book* under the lordship of an important tenant in chief, were probably arranged by William the Conqueror in order to safeguard his line of communication with Normandy in case trouble developed in England. No doubt in one of the volumes still to be published there will be a definitive study of the whole problem of the rapes and perhaps new light on their origins.

The volume opens with accounts of the rape and honor of Hastings and of the three Cinque Ports, Hastings, Rye, and Winchelsea, which lie within the geographical boundaries of the rape. Then follow accounts of the hundreds with detailed descriptions of the parishes in each, the descent of the manors from Domesday to the present or as far as they can be traced, and historical and architectural discussions of the interesting buildings, ecclesiastical and secular. There are plans of churches and castles and many

excellent illustrations of churches, castles, and domestic buildings, among which is included a number of eighteenth century drawings from the collection of the Sussex antiquary, Sir William Burrell.

The fourth volume of the Victoria History of the County of Northampton, like the ninth volume for Sussex, is devoted to a topographical account of a portion of the county, in this case to the five hundreds lying on the southeastern border surrounding the town of Northampton and to the south and west of Rockingham Forest. While portions of Salcey Forest lie within the parishes included in this volume, there is no account of the forest. The mass of detail about the parishes, the descent of manors and the local families, the historical and architectural descriptions of churches, and the illustrations and plans of ecclesiatical and domestic buildings maintain the high standards set in previous volumes.

The usefulness of both volumes is marred by the fact that neither contains a map of the whole county. Although a complete map of Sussex appears in an earlier volume, in view of the difficulty of handling volumes as large as these a map in each one would be helpful. The small diagrammatic maps in the Northampton volume, showing the parishes in each hundred, are useful.

The preparation of both these volumes was begun under the direction of the late Dr. Page, former editor of the series, and completed under the supervision of Mr. Salzman, the present editor. The use of a lighter paper has made the volumes less bulky and correspondingly easier to handle than many of the earlier ones.

Mount Holyoke College. ELISABETH G. KIMBALL.

Complaint and Reform in England, 1436-1714: Fifty Writings of the Time on Politics, Religion, Society, Economics, Architecture, Science, and Education. Arranged with Introductions by WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR., and STANLEY PARGELLIS. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xxxv, 925. $4.00.)

THIS compilation represents a historical new deal in the interest of forgotten men, in some cases anonymous men, who gave expression to important currents of thought in the England of their own days. "The works of the great thinkers", to quote the editors, "have already been reprinted. But another approach to the common thought of England is through the vulgar writings of pamphleteers, popularizers, and propagandists who prepared common beliefs for dissemination among the rank and file of literate Englishmen." Not all the writers, or writings, selected could successfully meet a strict test of obscurity—Sir John Fortescue's *Governance of England*, Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*, and Richard Hakluyt's *Western Planting*, for example—but stars of the first magnitude in the history of English thought, at any rate, have been omitted,

though their ideas, as the editors point out, repeatedly occur in these selections.

The editorial apparatus consists of a general introduction, a brief introductory note to each selection, a chronology of English history from 1399 to 1714, in which are incorporated the titles of the writings assembled in the body of the book with the names of the authors where these are known, and a chronology of the lives of the authors. As regards the texts, every reader must be his own editor, for there are no explanatory notes. The labor involved in supplying them would have been very considerable, but for lack of them many points of interest are likely to escape notice. There is nothing to indicate, for instance, that the use of the term "middle age" (p. 510) in Sir Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture* (1624) is in any way remarkable, yet this is almost the earliest known use of the term in English (see George Gordon, *Medium Aevum and the Middle Age*, S.P.E. Tract No. XIX, 1925). Again, in *A Treatise of the Office of a Councillor,* probably written in 1592 by Robert Beale, a brother-in-law of Walsingham and clerk of the privy council, there occurs this sentence (*Complaint and Reform,* p. 384): "Favour not secret or cabinet councils which do but cause jealousy and envy." The earliest positive evidence of the mention of a "cabinet council" in England by an Englishman which that untiring investigator, the late Edward Raymond Turner, was able to find was in 1622 (*The Cabinet Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,* I, 222), and he used this date as the *terminus a quo* of his book. As far as practicable, complete writings have been reprinted, but in some cases extracts have been given. The editors have done well to modernize spelling, punctuation, and capitalization. To adhere to the original in these respects would have been to sacrifice the spirit of history to the letter of the record. It would have diverted the reader's attention from the thought expressed to the symbols of expression. Often enough that thought was alien to ours, though not for that reason the less influential and important in its own day, and outmoded orthography would have made it harder to enter into with understanding. The historical interest of the collection is enhanced by a number of illustrations, many of them reproduced from title pages and frontispieces of pamphlets.

Seldom can there have been brought together in a single volume such an array of discontents and schemes of reform as that here assembled. It recalls the scene at the Cave of Adullam as described in I Samuel 22:2: "And every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became a captain over them; and there were with him about four hundred men." The recruits mobilized by Professors Dunham and Pargellis are fewer in number than David's, to be sure—only fifty—and in spite of the

banner under which they march not quite all of them complain, and not all qualify as reformers, but they speak for large constituencies, and they bear testimony to the dissatisfactions and aspirations of nearly three hundred years of English history.

It is impossible to do justice here to the scope and variety, the suggestiveness, or the illustrative value of these tracts and treatises, speeches and acts of parliament. No Marxist could wish for a better example of the economic basis of class distinctions than is afforded by the extracts given from statutes for the reformation of excess in apparel, ranging from Edward III to Henry VIII, and in Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1667) an informed student of the history of science could find texts for a dozen discourses. The persistence of elements of thought that we call medieval in times that we call modern will impress itself on the reader's mind. The absence of any conception of progress in the new learning of the Humanists is neatly illustrated in Thomas Lupset's *Exhortation to Young Men* (1529): "I would you meddled not greatly with any other books, than with these that I shall name unto you . . . . if these new writers speak any thing well, it is picked out of these ancient books" (pp. 103, 124). The sentiment expressed by Queen Elizabeth in her speech to parliament in 1585 would have been congenial to any medieval pope—"if I were not persuaded that mine were the true way of God's will, God forbid that I should live to prescribe it to you" (p. 342); and the argument for religious persecution given by the devout Calvinist, Ephraim Pagitt, in the dedicatory epistles of his *Heresiography* (1645), was Torquemada's.

Abundant illustration is given of what may be called the historics of reform—of all reform, at any rate, prior to the advent of the idea of progress, and that idea scarcely appears in these writings. Even today men who seek to mold the world nearer to their hearts' desire find inspiration and a sense of security in the belief that their ideal was once a reality. The mirage of a golden age has haunted all mankind—and it has been one of the major factors in distorting history. To the author of *The Libel of English Policy* (1436), who lamented the decay of English sea power, the golden age was the reign of Edgar. "I may not suffice to tell aright the magnanimity that King Edgar had upon the sea" (p. 25). The good old days are much in evidence in *A Supplication for the Beggars* (1528) by Simon Fish, who attributed all the woes of England to the clergy and the monks and saw in King John, the "noble predecessor" of Henry VIII, a champion of righteousness against those "idle, holy thieves" (p. 89). To the Puritans, as to Protestants generally, the golden age was that of the apostolic church, as is exemplified in *An Admonition to the Parliament* (1572). According to the historical scheme of Gerrard Winstanley (*A Letter to the Lord Fairfax, and his Council of War*, 1649), he and his

fellow Diggers were restoring to the commonalty their rights in the village commons of which William the Conqueror and his fellow robbers had despoiled them. Nay more, "The Reformation that England now is to endeavour, is not to remove the Norman yoke only . . . . the reformation is according to the word of God, and that is the pure law of righteousness before the fall, which made all things, unto which all things are to be restored" (p. 678). It was all so simple when reform was merely restoration.

Columbia University. R. L. SCHUYLER.

Modern Politics and Administration: A Study of the Creative State. By MARSHALL E. DIMOCK, Associate Professor of Public Administration, University of Chicago. [American Political Science Series, Lindsay Rogers, General Editor.] (New York: American Book Company. 1937. Pp. xiii, 440. $3.00.)

Constitutional Government and Politics: Nature and Development. By CARL JOACHIM FRIEDRICH, Associate Professor of Government, Harvard University. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1937. Pp. xvi, 591. $3.50.)

NOTWITHSTANDING similarity in their titles, these books differ greatly in content. The first, while referring occasionally to practice in other countries and to universal norms, deals with American institutions; the second is a treatise on comparative government. There is, however, one distinct point of resemblance: departure from the pattern of conventional textbooks, originality of design.

Adopting Goodnow's twofold division of power (policy making and policy enforcing), Professor Dimock allots approximately equal space to politics and administration. In discussing both subjects he makes it plain that government, once regarded merely as a means of restraint and control, now occupies itself with problems of social welfare and provides services in satisfaction of new and insistent popular demands. He tries to show how these demands arise, how they force their way to recognition, and how they are satisfied. There is merit, as well as novelty, in this point of view. It blazes a trail that may well supplant the old familiar route and take us some distance away from the old destination. After all, our interest seems to have shifted. We are less eager, nowadays, to hear about pocket vetoes or senatorial courtesy than about public services—what the government is doing for us, and why.

Professor Dimock's pioneering work, although suggestive, falls short, however, of achieving its purpose. The doctrine is not sufficiently elaborated. If a social transformation has precipitated new wants—especially wants that cannot be satisfied without national regulation—and if, in consequence, the basis of our federal arrangements has fallen into ruin, the facts should

be set before us. We get no more than a two-page account of the centralizing process in the United States and of its effect upon local areas. Nor is the theme further developed where an understanding of the constitutional system and of social reform would seem to require it. Indeed, successive topics are handled with a sustained sketchiness that often fails to distinguish between questions of greater and lesser importance. The doctrine is sound, but the treatment is a little too elementary.

Professor Friedrich maintains that modern political science is concerned with objectives and techniques, not with the forms of government. Like Professor Dimock he says very little about the organization of executive, legislature, and judiciary—less, in fact, than one might reasonably expect. It is surprising to find a long chapter devoted to proportional representation and another to the initiative and referendum when eighteen pages suffice for a discussion of cabinet systems. Curiously enough, the social activities of government, which assume such importance in Professor Dimock's eyes, are altogether ignored. Some other omissions will seem puzzling. In view of the emphatic assertion that bureaucracy is the core of modern government, why should the civil service receive only the barest casual mention? How can a student be supposed to understand the dubious criticism of Lord Hewart's thesis as "a bit of 'learned' tilting at windmills", when he has been told nothing about the civil service or the tendencies that aroused the chief justice's anxiety? Now and then obscure allusion or commentary without context impairs the clarity of a discussion, too much being taken for granted. The author does not always adhere to a middle course between two dispositions, one a trifle ponderous and esoteric, the other marked by informal sprightliness. We are confronted at the outset by a technical apparatus somewhat reminiscent of Euclid; by three axioms and three hypotheses concerning power; by diagrams that make the axioms seem still more recondite; and by the six elementary constituents of bureaucracy. Should these be mastered once for all as an indispensable key to the scientific mysteries of constitutional government? We soon discover that, like the author, we can dismiss them from our minds as superfluous embellishments.

The range of Professor Friedrich's reading becomes manifest from the richness and variety of illustrations and is further attested by a seventy-page annotated bibliography. He could not move so freely among the masters of political thought and the chief political figures of the past 2500 years unless he had more than a mere nodding acquaintance with them. This he has acquired from historical studies, which also must have contributed to his sense of perspective and sanity of judgment. He is quite aware that history provides politics with its most nourishing roots.

Pomona College. EDWARD MCCHESNEY SAIT.

ANCIENT HISTORY

The Foundations of Roman Italy. By Joshua Whatmough, Professor of Comparative Philology in Harvard University. [Methuen's Handbooks of Archaeology.] (London: Methuen and Company. 1937. Pp. xix, 420. 25*s*.)

In this book, intended for both the student and the general reader, a well-known philologist has assumed the difficult task of describing the early inhabitants of Italy and their cultures. Basing his reconstruction upon the combined evidence of the ancient literary (written historical), archaeological, and linguistic sources, Professor Whatmough proposes "to uncover and describe the foundations upon which the united Italy of Augustus was built".

Chapters I-IV consist of an introduction, a geographical description of Italy, a chapter on the prehistoric peoples of Italy and their civilizations from the paleolithic to the early iron age, and a chapter on the ancient tribes and their dialects (about 400 B.C.). This material is up-to-date and well organized. The description of the early Italian cultures is excellent, and the classification of the dialects is extremely helpful. In chapters V-XV eleven regions of Italy, corresponding roughly to the eleven *regiones* of Augustus, are individually surveyed; in chapter XVI there is a discussion of Sicily and the neighboring islands. The separate cultures of these areas are reconstructed with the aid of ancient tradition combined with archaeological and linguistic evidence. With chapter V the interest of the general reader will begin to wane, but the student will find it well worth while to consider carefully the material that follows. The complex elements which composed the ancient cultures, the many interrelations of languages and cultures, and the relative importance of the various groups described are presented in such a way that one gains a new viewpoint with regard to the position of the Romans and the Etruscans in the history of Italy. The last two chapters (XVII and XVIII) deal with the early Italian religion, literature, and government and the Roman unification of Italy. These are disappointing, as they are cursory and contain little that is new or significant; one possible exception is the section on law and government, which has some interesting comparisons of Roman and Italian political institutions.

A few of Professor Whatmough's conclusions may be noted here. He is convinced that the evidence of language, archaeology, and anthropology shows that "Alpine man" migrated southwards into Italy in the bronze and early iron ages (p. 118). He points out, however, that "the current assumption that no Indo-European language . . . could have been spoken in Italy before the beginning of the bronze age is nothing but assumption pure and simple, as arbitrary as unnecessary" (p. 132). The influence of

the *terremare* people upon the culture of Latium is minimized; one applauds the statement that the similarities between the *terramara* and the Roman camp are "more superficial than real" (pp. 263-64). Professor Whatmough considers the Villanovans invaders from the north (p. 85), and he rejects the theory that the South Villanovans were descended from the *terremare* (p. 264). Three separate, and probably unrelated, groups of "Villanovans" are distinguished: the North (true) Villanovans of Bologna, the South Villanovans of Tuscany, and the Latian Villanovans (pp. 84-87). The Etruscans are called sea raiders of foreign origin whose culture was orientalizing rather than oriental (pp. 26, 84, 213). The evidence of language, archaeology, and tradition points to Asia Minor as the homeland of the Etruscans (pp. 102, 213, 229). The point is made that the Gauls came from the Upper Rhine rather than from Gaul; also, there is no archaeological evidence to show that the Gauls were in Italy before 400 B.C. (pp. 147, 154).

Professor Whatmough suggests a possible cultural connection between Illyria, South Italy, and Sicily. He finds, for example, similarities in the neolithic pottery of the three regions, but he is forced to admit that the sum total of his evidence for close relations between Sicily and South Italy in the neolithic and bronze ages is not convincing (pp. 60, 80, 310, 355). In the iron age the culture of Sicily seems to have influenced that of southeastern Italy (p. 309).

Occasionally one questions Professor Whatmough's reasoning. For example, he states definitely that Etruscan is a non-Indo-European language (p. 102). With this assertion there can be no quarrel. Then, however, after calling Hittite a proto-Indo-European language, he says that Hittite may furnish a clue to Etruscan (pp. 103, 177, 225). It is also doubtful whether Professor Whatmough is justified in his statement that in Rome "almost all of the material traces of the Etruscan occupation no doubt disappeared at the time of the destruction of the city by the Gauls in 390 B.C." (p. 274). Few historians today would subscribe to a theory of so complete a Gallic destruction of Rome.

On the whole, this book is deserving of high praise. The plates, text illustrations, and maps are good. Helpful bibliographies follow each chapter. The index, however, is most unsatisfactory.

The University of Minnesota. TOM B. JONES.

Augustus. By JOHN BUCHAN. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1937. Pp. xvii, 379. $4.50.)

Augustus Caesar. By BERNARD M. ALLEN. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xiii, 261. $3.00.)

ONE of the few books published in connection with the two thousandth anniversary of the birth of Augustus which will not soon lose its value is

that by John Buchan (Lord Tweedsmuir), governor general of Canada since 1935. No other author has given to the lay reader such a brilliant description and such a penetrating and subtle analysis of the Augustan age. At the same time, this book may well be read with genuine appreciation by the scholar. Anyone who is familiar with the previous biographical writings of Buchan knows how markedly his approach to historical personages differs from that of the representatives of the "biographical" genre which has caught the popular fancy. He does not try to vulgarize history by dubious analogies with events of today, though he believes "that the convulsions of our time may give an insight into the problems of the early Roman Empire which was perhaps unattainable by scholars who lived in easier days". It would be equally true to say that no other epoch gives us so much for the understanding of our own as the age of Augustus.

An experienced and astute statesman, the author realizes thoroughly that in every political system it is not the façade which is important but rather the real interrelation of powers concealed behind the façade. For him the question of whether Augustus restored the republic is a purely academic one; what matters is the fact that behind the nominal preservation of many traditional Roman political institutions lay the apparition of a new decisive power—the princeps. Augustus understood that Rome, exhausted by the long years of civil strife, dreamed not so much of self-government as of good government, and that is what he gave to the harassed nation. The success of Augustus lies in the restoration of the thing which Rome needed more than anything else: peace with security, the fundamental prerequisites of the nation's normal life.

Buchan is an excellent psychologist, and his interpretation of the reconstruction scheme conceived and carried out by Augustus is convincing. It is difficult, however, to agree with him when he attempts to free Augustus from the charge of duplicity; Buchan is unable to prove that Augustus did not foresee from the start the later developments of the principate and that in his heart of hearts he believed in the reality of the restoration of republican principles. Another point which might be made is that in his chapter on Augustan peace Buchan does not emphasize sufficiently the degree to which the new regime influenced the economic well-being of the Roman middle class—the class for which the age of Augustus became the golden age.

The historian who wishes to grasp the spirit of the Augustan age must touch upon the part played by Caesar in the destiny of Rome. For Buchan the real genius is Augustus, who rejected his great-uncle's world-embracing visions and dreams of a decentralized Roman nation with an imperial citizenship and who welded together an empire in which Rome and Italy were the dominating powers. It should be remembered, however, that the imperialistic policy of Augustus was based entirely on principles which

were for the first time enunciated by Caesar. The concept of a ruler under whose aegis all parts of the Roman Empire would form a friendly commonwealth was born in the head of the "dreamer" Caesar and was inherited from him by the slow, patient "trimmer", Augustus. This thought (which Buchan himself formulated explicitly in his *Julius Caesar*—"it was given to Augustus to bring into being what Julius dreamed") is somewhat veiled in his *Augustus*.

It would be trivial to cavil at the few errors to be expected in a book of this size. However, since the importance of the book will certainly make a new edition necessary, we should like to mention a few desiderata: The reader would profit by (1) a revision of the map of the Roman Empire on the flyleaves, the present map being very sketchy and containing a number of errors; (2) the addition of a bibliographical list; (3) the addition of reproductions showing the many monuments of the Augustan age, which, for the lay reader, illustrate the grandeur of the period better than anything else. (Such a set of illustrations makes the recently published work on Augustus by Karl Hoen particularly valuable.)

Buchan's work is assured a permanent place in any good collection of books on Augustus. The same cannot be said of Mr. Allen's *Augustus Caesar*. The purpose of the latter work is to satisfy the curiosity of the average reader who has heard of the bimillenary of Augustus and who wishes to learn something about the statesman whose name was quoted so often in the newspapers and magazines during the past year. Written in a drab style and in a language which has nothing in common with that of Buchan, Allen's book contains only a biography of Augustus. The reader will gain from it no idea of the age of Augustus or of the social factors behind it. The author has not been able to breathe into the book the spirit of the epoch which enlivens the picture of an individual and transforms it into what the Germans so aptly call a *Lebensbild*. The evolution of the Augustan constitution remains completely unexplained; the description of the reforms of Augustus is superficial and summary. The author, in spite of good intentions, limits himself to a dull and uninspiring enumeration of events in the long life of Augustus.

The University of Nebraska. MICHAEL GINSBURG.

Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian. By SHERMAN LEROY WALLACE, University of Wisconsin. [Princeton University Studies in Papyrology, No. 2, edited by Allen Chester Johnson.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1938. Pp. ix, 512. $6.00.)

WHEN Professor Wallace selected taxation in Egypt in the Roman period as the object of his interest and his investigations, he chose one of the most difficult and intricate problems in the entire field of ancient economic history. There can be no doubt that he has taken seriously the

laborious task of going through and organizing the Greek documents dealing with taxation. This is apparent from the fact that his references and critical remarks, assembled by chapters at the end of the book, constitute one fifth of the entire volume. Granting that, in the present state of the study of papyri, any specialized collection of material is valuable and welcome, the question of the usableness of the collection is the one of primary importance. From this standpoint the omission of an organized bibliography of the contemporary articles and books which the author has used is a distinct handicap. Also, an alphabetized list of his own abbreviations in referring to the published volumes of papyri would have been helpful even to seasoned students of papyrology. This is particularly true because Professor Wallace has chosen to deviate, in numerous instances, from the accepted method of abbreviation.

The book has an index of Greek technical terms printed in Greek, to which a very brief list of Latin and English terms is added. The omission of an index in English and the constant use in the body of the book of Greek words, without transliteration more often than with it, set for the reviewer the evaluation of this study as one directed solely to those students of taxation problems who are technically equipped with knowledge of the Greek language. By the specialist workman the failure to supply an index of the many Egyptian villages and towns to which the hundreds of papyri refer, with their deviations of tax rate according to locality, must be regarded as a serious defect. The necessity of such an organization of the material has, indeed, been recognized by Professor Wallace himself since he has collected in his copious notes, by villages and nomes, the references upon certain forms of taxes (*e.g.*, the useful list of the house-to-house census declarations on pages 392-95). A separate index of the tax officials would also have been acceptable.

The study of taxation problems is today a highly technical business, with a standardized terminology generally accepted by tax practitioners and the theoretical exponents of taxation principles. In my judgment, an obligation rests upon the student of ancient taxation to make his work available to those professionally interested in the general field. With this group in mind, in order to avoid misleading terms one must either abandon the modern technical terminology altogether or adopt its inclusive rubrics and fit the ancient tax names under these, giving an adequate explanation in English of each of the ancient terms. Professor Wallace has, correctly I think, followed the latter course, as his chapter headings show (land tax, poll tax, sales taxes, customs duties, etc.). But he has made the fundamental error in his text of deviating from the technical implications of modern terminology.

An example of this is the statement on page 76 that a certain payment on the rent of houses, the explanation of which is in itself highly conjectural,

implies a "single tax". In the multiplicity of Egyptian taxes the "single tax" theory, which technically implies a single and exclusive source of revenue, is quite inapplicable. Again (pp. 9, 58, 59, 154), the author uses the term "surtax" to refer to the numerous supplementary fees exacted in Egypt. These *prosdiagraphomena* lack completely the progressive feature inseparably connected with the modern idea of the graduated surtax. In chapter IX Professor Wallace's definition of the capitation tax does arbitrary violence to the accepted terminology. Under this definition the pig tax (definitely regarded by the author on page 144 as a "tax on pigs"), all of the "distributed" taxes (the *merismoi* which fall at a flat rate upon those who pay them), the license for the right to brew beer, and the problematic consumption tax on beer—all of these become "capitation taxes". For the pig tax this is based upon two false assumptions, upon the mistaken belief (p. 143) that the pig was anathema to the native Egyptians and upon the statement (p. 144) that Schwahn, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* 5A, page 289, regarded the pig tax as a "capitation tax". Schwahn states merely that it was collected in the manner used in bringing in the poll tax.

Professor Wallace is occasionally guilty of the "arm-chair" method of suggesting new readings or new datings of published payri without having had a check made by some competent papyrologist upon the original document. The late Karl Wessely was a distinguished reader of papyri. When Wessely has read λ[εἰπ]ει in his *Studien zur Palaeographie* XXII 28, it is not permissible to mark as doubtful the final *iota,* which Wessely read as certain, and then to suggest (see note 65 on page 391) that δ[ιεφ]θ̣(άρη) is "quite probable". Again, on page 108 the author suggests a change from the dating of a papyrus which Wessely had established, by the style of writing, as from the beginning of the second century A.D. Apparently without checking the hand, Wallace thinks it possible to shift the document to the late second or to the beginning of the third century. This suits his argument—but it is inadmissible as method. On page 43 the author suggests a change in the reading of Wilcken, *Ostraka* II 1546, from φορικ(οῦ?) to φορέτ(ρου), marking as doubtful two letters which Wilcken had read without question. By this means Wallace eliminates one piece of recalcitrant evidence for the sake of evidential uniformity. Methodologically he has thereby replaced the fact of Wilcken's reading by his own free fancy. Again, on page 419, it is bad practice to build up an argument by reverting to an abandoned reading of Wilcken's *Ostraka* II 1290, corrected in the *Berichtigungsliste* II, 101.

I come to the historical perspective needed by a scholar who has undertaken so imposing and complicated a task as this. In Professor Wallace's view, as expressed on page 1, the "gift estates" of the Ptolemaic period were like the great estates held in Egypt by the senatorial nobility and equites at Rome in the early period of Roman rule. Under the Ptolemies

the *doreai* were, actually, granted in usufruct, not in ownership, as rewards for distinguished services to the crown and under the obligation of their economic development (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 274). In the early Roman period the large estates in Egypt were privately owned and under a system of sheer exploitation by privileged Roman grandees. The author has resurrected the long-abandoned idea of Egypt as an "isolated country" (p. 350). One need only look at Heichelheim's *Auswärtige Bevölkerung* and recall the embassy which came to Egypt from lower Russia, along with a religious mission from Argos (H. I. Bell, *Symbolae Osloenses*, 1927, pp. 1-7), or the delegation of three prominent citizens from Caunus in Caria in 257 B.C. (*Columbia Papyri* III no. 11), to throw this isolation theory overboard for the third pre-Christian century. For the following century the idea would surely be discarded by any person who has read the sea loan published by Ulrich Wilcken in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* etc., LX (1925), 89 ff. In the first Christian century the constant connections of "isolated" Egypt extended from India to Gibraltar.

Where Professor Wallace feels it necessary to substitute a conjecture of his own for one advanced by scholars like Rostovtzeff (as on pp. 266-67), the reviewer does not find his arguments apt or convincing. On page 31 and in note 3 on page 368 Professor Wallace presents two contradictory views as to the power of the Roman prefect of Egypt to regulate taxation. He seems to adhere to both of them. It is the statement in the text (p. 31) which is wrong. Tiberius Julius Alexander, prefect under Nero, in his well-known edict makes only one specific statement regarding restriction upon his taxing power, which is to the effect that the emperor alone had the right to remit arrears of taxes (OGI no. 669 § 15, according to the new readings of this document made by Evelyn White, which will soon be published). On page 95, in dealing with taxes upon animals, Wallace sets up a hypothesis based upon the lack of any information opposed to it. He follows this with an acknowledged probability that the ownership of the herds which had belonged to the state went over to the great landowners. He then advances the theory, as a probable explanation of the previous probability, that animals could no longer be profitably leased by the state and comes finally to the wise conclusion that we cannot tell in how far the treasury of Egypt was benefited by an assumed change, originally predicated upon an unfounded hypothesis, as described above. It is obvious that we get nowhere under such a method of deductive reasoning.

The work of Professor Wallace is to be commended as an industrious and honest collection of important material, which is not made as usable as an increase in the indexes would have made it. The conclusions presented, in my judgment, should be adopted only with great discretion. The writer had not acquired, from his training, methods of work adequate to perform his task properly. He should have taken a much longer period

in working over his material—time for wider and deeper study and a longer period for gestation and for the ripening of judgment which this process brings.

Columbia University. WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN.

The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces. By A. H. M. JONES, Fellow of All Souls College. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xv, 576. $10.00.)

FOR the purposes of his study Mr. Jones recognizes thirteen geographical or ethnic units as constituting the eastern possessions of Rome: Thrace; Asia; Lycia; the Gauls; Pamphylia, Pisidia and Lycaonia; Bithynia and Pontus; Cappadocia; Cilicia; Mesopotamia and Armenia; Syria; Egypt; Cyrenaica; and Cyprus. For each of these areas he has gathered the evidence relating to the origins of the cities, their internal organization, and the history of their relations with the surrounding districts and with the paramount powers from as early as the Achaemenid period to the reign of Justinian. The evidence is furnished by a well-balanced use of inscriptions, papyri, coins, and the literary sources, including documents of the early Christian Church.

In the introduction the author tells us that he hopes to publish a succeeding volume which will "draw together the scattered threads obscured in this work in a tangle of facts". The present volume is essentially a handbook of data, and as such its physical features are most impressive. Besides the 375 pages of text there are 114 pages of notes and references, 50 of appendixes and tables, 12 of bibliography, 8 maps, and an index with references to nearly 1700 distinct geographical and ethnic names. The index includes also references to personal names and to well-selected topics, such as bishoprics, climata, royal lands, taxation, etc. In the notes references are limited to original sources, but the bibliography appears to cover the field of modern literature in an adequate manner. In the appendixes, besides a series of comparative tables of "the principal civil and ecclesiastical lists of the Byzantine period", we find a formal analysis and criticism of four of the principal literary sources: Pliny, Ptolemy, the Synecdemus of Hierocles, and the so-called Document of Georgius Cyprius. The tables are arranged according to the provinces of the Byzantine period as given by Hierocles. The names of the towns or other administrative units within each province are followed by columns of references to each unit in Hierocles, the Notitiae, and lists of the various church councils; in a separate bibliography Mr. Jones lists his sources for this ecclesiastical literature. Besides the formal discussion in the appendixes, the text is rich in comments on the various ancient authors, and this subjection of literary sources to the requirements of an exhaustive study in a particular field will be of real value to students in allied fields.

The author has chosen wisely in limiting his study to the confines of the Roman Empire. In his statement, however, that beyond these borders Greek cities were "never more than isolated phenomena" he seriously underestimates the strength of this phase of Hellenization, though it is only too true that our knowledge concerning both Greek and native cities of Babylonia, Arabia, Iran, and India is so limited that a comprehensive study of their growth and organization cannot yet be attempted. In connection with the detailed picture which Mr. Jones provides for Western Asia, one should read the challenging sketch of Greek influence in the Middle East which comprises the introductory chapters of the most recent work by W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*.

Throughout the volume under review one notes a measurable failure on the part of the author to distinguish adequately the various definitions of the term "city" which are required by the nature of the subject matter. Mr. Jones is concerned with the development of urban as opposed to tribal life, and even more with the increased use of cities as units of administration as opposed to a centralized bureaucracy. Many of the centers with which he deals had acquired the essential characteristics of cities before they had felt the influence of Greek culture, and, of course, a large number were the creation of the Roman Empire, intended exclusively to serve the Roman administration. In the face of these conditions, carefully brought out in the study, Mr. Jones tends to overemphasize the role of Greek culture in the process of urbanization. In the introduction he states that "the object of this work is to trace the diffusion of the Greek city as a political institution through the lands bordering on the eastern Mediterranean"; that his "object is to trace the diffusion of Greek political institutions in barbarian lands"; and again, that "deprived of the fostering care of the Roman government, Greek political institutions never achieved outside the Roman Empire that universal diffusion which they achieved within it". Without minimizing the fact that with the spread of Greek culture over much of the ancient world urban centers tended to adopt the forms traditional in the Greek cities, one must avoid an assumption that the cities of the Hellenistic and Roman periods necessarily owed their essential functions to Greek culture. For the most part the Greek colonies established on the Mediterranean shores and along the Black Sea had signally failed to organize politically the districts economically dependent on them, in many instances even the districts immediately outside the city walls. The breakdown of tribal life through the development of urban centers and the conscious use of these centers for the administration of the districts surrounding them became important in the Near East of the first millenium B.C. only with the Hellenistic period, and the inspiration appears to derive in part from the Phoenician tradition but more largely from Babylonia.

The University of Michigan. ROBERT H. MCDOWELL.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Gateway to the Middle Ages. By ELEANOR SHIPLEY DUCKETT, Professor of Latin Language and Literature, Smith College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xii, 620. $5.00.)

DR. Duckett follows up her fine volume on the fifth century with one on the sixth. She modestly declares that it is intended for the general reader. The general reader will find it stimulating, and the professor of history will gratefully put it among the reserved books in his course on the Middle Ages. Nor will the technical historian fail to see its virtues. He will not, however, find it heavily "documented". The footnotes do not contain complete bibliographies on all the topics of controversy raised in the text—those proper adornments of a severely scientific work. Some additions might well be made to the works that the author does cite and to her general bibliography at the end. But nonetheless this is a critical and not a mere popularizing account of the author's theme.

Indeed it is a question, sometimes, whether the solid sort of historiography is really solid. A scholar may start with some standard account of a period of the past—he has to start with something—master all that has been written about it, reckon with all the discoveries made and all the hypotheses proposed, distinguish carefully between primary and secondary sources, keep the eye single to *veritas* in general and the doctrine of evolution in particular and the mind unclouded by dogma, emotion, or humor, and display the sum total in a style free from meretricious elegance or charm.

Miss Duckett works the other way round. She begins with the ancient writers themselves and allows them to speak. Being an accomplished professor of the classics, she knows their *ipsissima verba* and calls for their testimony as if nobody had summoned them before. Procopius, Cassiodorus, Paul the Deacon, Boethius, Gregory of Tours, St. Benedict, Gregory the Great, and all others who deserve a hearing declare the history of their own times. Direct quotations and skillful summaries are always referred to their sources, but the work is no mere accumulation of summaries. The witness of the writers is not left without a comment. We see the movements, the dramas, of the times in which all unconsciously they were playing their roles. The author has immersed herself in modern estimates of the men and the events, political, social, literary, and intellectual, of the age that she treats, and she acquaints us *en passant* with her own point of view. But we are invited to see the play, not to read what the critics say about it next day in the papers. This is an entirely different affair from a book "for the general reader"—a rewriting of some standard work in simple and attractive language. The present work is at once good literature and critical history.

The subjects of Miss Duckett's chapters indicate the scope of her work. They are: "The Historical Scene in Italy"; "The Gothic Rule in Italy:

Cassiodorus, Secretary of Theodoric the Great"; "The Gothic Rule in Italy: Jordanes and Ennodius"; "Philosophy in the Sixth Century"; "A Picture of France"; "Poetry in the Sixth Century"; "A Picture of Britain"; "Roman Monasticism"; "Celtic Monasticism"; "Saint Benedict of Nursia"; "Saint Gregory the Great". It is obvious from these titles that a proper balance is preserved between literature and history—those sister arts that ought never to have been separated by our departmentalized system of college education. Surely history cannot be written by one who does not know the literature of the times in the language or languages in which it was written. The expert in law or government or economics or social conditions, of course, makes weighty contributions to the study of any age, but these contributions should be assayed by one who knows at first hand the highest expressions of the human spirit in letters and the arts and its strivings for a higher realm of philosophy and religion. How different does the Merovingian age become when a writer of Miss Duckett's cultivation adds to the battles, murders, and sudden deaths recorded by Gregory of Tours the poetry of Fortunatus and the heroic experiment, an experiment that came to stay, of the monastic life! It was an age of strange contrasts, not differing much from our own, between crude failure without and placid triumph within.

Of all this Miss Duckett writes in a polished and measured style, seasoned with touches of emotion and a quiet humor that relieves, but never interrupts, the even tenor of dignity. She can treat a great subject simply. Above all, she has that inner acquaintance with the beauty of the liturgy, the profession, and the practice of the Catholic Church, without which the period that she treats is a sealed book. Did space permit, I would quote one passage (p. 209) in which history passes into poetry sure to appeal to any who have felt the spell of the Tours of Bishop Gregory and St. Martin.

We hope that having brought us thus to the gateway of the Middle Ages, Miss Duckett will next show us what is within the portals.

Harvard University. E. K. Rand.

An Introduction to Medieval Europe, 300-1500. By James Westfall Thompson, Sidney Hellman Ehrman Professor of European History, The University of California, and Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, Associate Professor of History, The University of Nebraska. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1937. Pp. xii, 1092. $5.50, trade edition; $3.90, text edition.)

Europe in the Middle Ages. By Warren O. Ault, Professor of History in Boston University. [Revised.] (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. 1937. Pp. xi, 730. $3.48.)

The stream of textbooks on the Middle Ages continues to swell; the books grow longer and heavier. Now we have a complete rewriting by Professor Johnson of an earlier book by Professor Thompson with more

than a thousand large closely printed pages, a hundred illustrations of real beauty, and nearly forty maps of sufficient utility. By the inclusion of two chapters on England by Dr. Glenn W. Gray all fields are covered. There is the usual short list of helpful readings for each chapter with brief critical comment by Dr. Gray for his sections, and a syllabus with full bibliographical information is announced.

The book has many admirable qualities only a few of which can be mentioned. The style is forthright, not sparkling, rather lacking in humor, but good. The avowed aim of the authors at the composition of a book wherein the history of ideas is presented against the political background, "refreshed constantly by intimate contact with warm human beings and the homely facts of life", has been well achieved. The continuity of intellectual developments has been emphasized from Neoplatonism to Humanism. Two excellent chapters on the "medieval renaissance" point through various other passages to the final chapter on learning and art in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries wherein the outworn view is skillfully amended by establishing continuity with the earlier movement, both being treated as a phase in the increasing urbanization and secularization of society. The chapter on literaure, art, and music in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is the most delightful in the book. In it the text and line drawings on architecture are a real achievement in clarity, and the pages on music could have been written only by a trained amateur and performer, as Professor Johnson is said to be. To find Palestrina appreciatively placed in a textbook on medieval history is a happy augury. In a book of this quality and aim four lines for John of Salisbury seem meager, and the final chapter seems too sternly compressed: thirty pages on the period of the Hundred Years War might have been partially sacrificed advantageously. The history of the church is handled elaborately and with vigor, occasionally with brutal frankness of phrase, yet tempered often by passages of appreciation of the problems confronted if not solved. A chapter of some originality in concept treats the "medieval reformation", the religious discontent and protest, revolutionary monastic developments, phenomena further discussed in two later passages and interpreted as the real beginnings of the Protestant Reformation, again emphasizing continuity. From time to time there are interesting comparisons, frequent cautions to the incautious reader against easy judgment on the Middle Ages based on inadequate knowledege of them or of his own age, timely cautions against clichés. Economic and institutional developments are adequately considered.

A few questions arise in reading the book. The revivifying views of Dopsch seem to have been ignored; otherwise the too catagorical statement concerning Charles Martel's use of the benefice would have been modified (p. 231), and Dopsch's work, now available in English, would have been mentioned in the suggested readings. The statement that merchant gilds

"split up" into craft gilds requires qualification (p. 589). The very difficult problem of stating briefly the views of the church on marriage has been unwisely attempted (p. 681). Careful reading of Lunt's book on papal revenues would have avoided conflict with his conclusions on the annates and profits from the sale of indulgences in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (p. 659). There are few inaccuracies of a careless nature, but Tunis is wrongly given as the port captured by the Genoese-Pisan expedition in one passage, though Mahdia is correctly named in another (pp. 517, 564), and there are a few other errors of this sort. In the lists of readings Tait's book on towns should certainly have been included, and if Villehardouin in translation is recommended, the excellent translation of Robert of Cleri by Professor McNeal, giving the other side of the picture, should have been listed. Only three errors in proofreading have been noted.

The revised edition of Professor Ault's book is of another ilk, simpler in plan and purpose, more conventional, written in a lively style, marred by carelessness. Can we concientiously teach the young to speak of "oral literature" (pp. 56, 63)? Mohammed did not leave to his successors a "unified Arabia" (p. 211). Robert Guiscard cannot be said "actually" to have laid siege to Constantinople (p. 310). It is trying to read that Lombard merchants were the importers of eastern luxuries to the West (p. 369). Six fairs in four towns in Champagne is as easy to write as "four fairs in as many towns" and has the advantage of being true (p. 392). Sicily is either on the main highway of Mediterranean trade or it is not—impossible to have it both ways (pp. 369, 409). The unhappy bishop arrested by Philip the Fair in the course of the quarrels with Boniface VIII was not a papal legate, as is stated (p. 431). Would Abelard's self-confessed vanity be tickled at being called the "greatest of twelfth century nominalists" (p. 496)? Because the Arabs gave a name to algebra is no excuse for telling students that they "invented" that science (p. 222). The map of commercial routes sadly needs revision of maritime routes before the next edition of the book (pp. 366-67).

Neither of these textbooks will pre-empt the field, although the first one is a brave new approach, a difficult task handsomely accomplished.

Columbia University. EUGENE H. BYRNE.

Terrae Incognitae: Eine Zusammenstellung und kritische Bewertung der wichtigsten vorcolumbischen Entdeckungsreisen an Hand der darüber vorliegenden Originalberichte. Band II, *200-1200 n. Chr.* Von Dr RICHARD HENNIG, Hochschulprofessor in Düsseldorf. (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1937. Pp. ix, 399. 6 g.)

THIS second part of Hennig's projected three-volume work on pre-Columbian discovery is as catholic in scope as was the first. Of the fifty-

two expeditions discussed, six went to the Near East and Abyssinia, four to Central Asia, four to India, five to China, and two to Japan. At least seven were journeys from one part of the Far East to another. Some eight undertakings sought information about the Baltic region and northern Russia, while no less than fifteen—most of them by Northmen—brought within the circle of Europe's knowledge the lands of the north Atlantic from the Faroe Islands to the shores of Vinland.

In its organization Hennig's work is a bit unconventional. The material on each journey is divided into two parts. First there is a rendering of passages from medieval sources (sometimes as many as half a dozen) which are relevant to the journey in question. Thereupon follows an original essay by the author, touching upon a variety of data—sometimes as much geographical and climatological as bibliographical and historical. All the sources are rendered in German.

The order of treatment is chronological. There is less duplication in the essays than might be expected from such a procedure, yet something might have been gained from a regional arrangement. It seems a little awkward to find the section on the Japanese Chonen in China inserted between the section on Eric in Greenland and that on the first Northmen in Vinland. Likewise the material on the Malayan colonization of Madagascar is sandwiched between that on Harald Haardraade in the Greenland ice drift and that on Bishop Eirik Gnupsson in Vinland.

In the interpretation of doubtful and obscure passages—there are many such in the sources pertaining to medieval discovery—the author is never timid or hesitant but undertakes to fill in the gaps with hypotheses and suggestions (for example, pp. 34, 60-61, 179, 202, 248), which not infrequently are substantiated with ingenious reasoning. In most cases where there is some doubt about the historicity of a journey he accepts it and argues that at least the kernel of the account must be valid. The tone of the argument in such passages may be a bit peremptory (for example, pp. 19, 49, 99, 104, 131) at times when a suggestive and tentative approach would be fully as convincing.

As a work of reference the volume has its merit. Into its preparation the author, who has to his credit a long list of articles and studies on the historical aspects of geographical exploration, has put a good deal of serious effort, first in assembling and editing the diverse extracts from sources, and second, in composing the essay for each journey. These essays are far from being of equal value, but the longer ones provide convenient and sometimes effective introductions to the expeditions discussed and to the controversial literature on them.

New York University. OSCAR J. FALNES.

Histoire de Moyen Age. Tome IV[2], *L'essor des états d'Occident: France, Angleterre, Péninsule ibérique.* Par CH. PETIT-DUTAILLIS, membre de l'Institut, et P. GUINARD, directeur de l'Institut français de Madrid. [Histoire générale, publiée sous la direction de Gustave Glotz.] (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France. 1937. Pp. 403. 50 fr.)

IN this volume twenty chapters by M. Petit-Dutaillis cover the history of France and England, 1152-1272, and three by M. Guinard deal with the Spanish peninsula, 1031-1252. A "bibliographie générale" supplied for each part is supplemented by copious footnote references, often critical, to sources, standard secondary works, monographs, and periodicals, some as recent as 1936. There is a satisfactory index of persons, places, and terms.

M. Petit-Dutaillis's account seems to the reviewer a work of real distinction. It embodies the results of recent scholarship in both France and England, including the author's own studies and suggestions for problems yet unsolved. More than is usually the case with French or English historians, Petit-Dutaillis is at home on both sides of the channel. Hence he gives a penetrating insight into the complicated interrelationships of the two areas, the comparative history of their institutions, and the probable influences of each upon the other. Instances of this are his description of Henry II's administration of his Continental fiefs and relations with his vassals and towns "d'outremer"; suggestion as to what French kings may have learned from the English administration of Normandy, and English barons from Louis IX's ordinances; Philip Augustus's role and motives in the English crisis, 1213-16, and Saint Louis's in the *Mise of Amiens.* Apparently the author's own contributions are the analysis of King John as modern psychiatry would deal with the contemporary evidence, the growth of absolute monarchy in France through the character of Louis IX, and theories accounting for the partly progressive character of the Articles of the Barons and alloting responsibility for article 14 of Magna Carta. While narrative history is adequately traced, more space is devoted to economic, social, and religious forces, and the growth of governmental institutions. Felicity of style and skill in depicting personalities lend liveliness to the narrative. Errors are few. Occasional brevity of treatment results in misleading or doubtful statements: for instance, the confusing account of the origin of common pleas and king's bench (pp. 95-96, 184) and the obscure reference to permanent committees of four or six knights (p. 39, ll. 30-31). Article 14 of Magna Carta does not mention a *magnum concilium* (p. 189, l. 12) nor article 17 a *court* of common pleas (p. 184, l. 13). One is inclined to question the emphasis on the contributions of the Dominicans to representative institutions (pp. 51, 55, 199) and the force of the elective principle in the succession to the English throne (pp. 89, 111-12, 125).

We are fortunate, no doubt, in having this work from M. Guinard's pen completed at the time it was. The author, "retenu loin de Madrid par des

circonstances independantes de sa volonté", apologizes for failure to revise his proofs as he would have liked to do. In brief compass he gives an effective account of the troubled two centuries of Spanish history from the end of the Caliphate of Cordova to the confining of Moslem power to Granada. Emphasis in this period is naturally on the Christian states—their political history, a comparative study of their institutions, and the story of the reconquest, with possibly overemphasis on the unifying effects of the latter. His treatment gains over that in the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Vol. VI, ch. XII, 1929) both in the use of studies which have appeared since 1929 and in a fuller exposition of the various forces at work in the peninsula. He plays up the influence of geography, contacts between the Christian states and the Christian world north of the Pyrenees, and the character and life of the small Moslem states ("royaumes de taifas"). Especially good is the description of Moslem Spain: its economic and cultural civilization; the relationships of Christians, Moslems, Jews, Mozarabs, and Mudejares, tolerant at least into the thirteenth century; and Spain's role in the transmission of learning—"les grands philosophes qui seront les traits d'union entre la pensée antique, la musulmane et la chretienne". A suggestive final paragraph relates the effects of the reconquest to present-day problems in the peninsula.

The University of Minnesota. FAITH THOMPSON.

L'Albanie et l'invasion turque au XV^e^ siècle. Par ATHANASE GEGAJ, docteur en sciences historiques. [Université de Louvain.] (Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1937. Pp. xx, 169. 30 fr.).

THIS admirable monograph is one of the most instructive contributions to Balkan history that have appeared in recent years. Drawing upon the numerous collections of Southern Slav, medieval Greek, and Italian documents, the author has undertaken to picture the conditions in Albania on the eve of the Turkish conquest. The country, since about the year 1200, had passed from effective Byzantine rule into the control of a number of powerful feudal families, mostly native, like the Thopia, Ducagin, Balsha, and Musachi. There intervened a short period of Serbian rule in the time of Dushan, after which real efforts were made in Albania, as elsewhere in Europe, to overcome the feudal anarchy and establish some form of centralized authority. This process was interrupted by the attacks of the Turks in the last years of the fourteenth century and by the establishment of the Venetians in the coast towns. By 1423 Turkish suzerainty had been imposed on most of the interior.

The second part of the book is devoted to a critical examination of the career of Scanderbeg. For this section the author has of course made use of Barletius's chronicle, the shortcomings of which he fully recognizes, but which he rates somewhat higher than other recent writers have done. More

important, however, is his re-discovery of an earlier, much more sober, and apparently more reliable chronicle, written by an anonymous author from Antivari, a brother of one of Scanderbeg's officers. This chronicle was printed in 1480 but later lost. It was used extensively by Biemmi in his *Historia di Giorgio Castriota* (Brescia, 1742), a work which itself is now extremely rare. In addition, Gegaj has drawn upon the account of Musachi, written in 1510 and first published by Ricca in 1865. He makes full use of the valuable studies of Marinescu on the relations of Alfonso V of Naples with Scanderbeg, though he believes that Marinescu overemphasizes the extent of Neapolitan aid. Above all, Gegaj has supplied a much-needed scholarly, critical account of Scanderbeg's origins and career and has put that career into the larger Italian and Slavic setting. It is hard to find anything but praise for his painstaking treatment of a most difficult subject. Possibly some further information might be derived from some of the recently discovered Turkish chronicles, though the Turkish sources, like Sead-eddin and Leunclavius, which Gegaj has used, are so disappointing that little is perhaps to be expected from that side. Only two or three insignificant slips have been noted.

Harvard University. W. L. Langer.

The Private Life of Lorenzo the Magnificent. By Yvonne Maguire. (London: Alexander Ouseley, 1936. Pp. 208. 6*s*.)

Lorenzo il Magnifico. By Cesare Violini. (Milan: La Prora. 1937. Pp. 364. 15 l.)

Laurent le Magnifique. By Marcel Brion. (Paris: Albin Michel. 1937. Pp. 367. 25 f.)

No one of these studies qualifies as a biography. Mrs. Maguire has limited herself to a narrow interpretation of a single aspect—Lorenzo's relations with his family and the members of his household. Her book is not without a certain quality of scholarship, although on the whole it does not rank with *The Women of the Medici,* which was awarded the Gamble Prize at Girton. Aside from letters included in that earlier volume Mrs. Maguire relies on printed sources, of varying value but used with discrimination.

Signor Violini has been more ambitious. The chapter headings cover Lorenzo's personal and political life and his cultural attainments, together with certain interpolations on women, literature, and social customs in Florence from Boccaccio's day on. The chapters themselves fail to fulfill their promise; they are brief, often trivial in content and loosely organized. In many instances the author relies on imagination rather than on research, for data as well as for conclusions. The accounts of the economic organization of Florence, of the early Medici, and of the Triple Alliance are

most inaccurate. The sack of Volterra and the analysis of the relations between the Medici and Pope Sixtus IV are more adequate. Signor Violini is a novelist as well as a historian. He is occupied just now with a romance centering on the Pazzi Conspiracy, which explains why that incident receives disproportionate attention. The period after 1478 is hurried over; Lorenzo's diplomatic achievements, on which any just estimate of his ability must rest, are quite ignored. The best chapters are those on social and literary history, in which Signor Violini's imagination is his best asset.

M. Brion is equally inaccurate so far as his facts go. His most serious blunders are in confusing Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco with the Magnifico and in accepting the legend of Savonarola's denying absolution to his patron. He makes no mention of Lorenzo's political life after the Peace of Bagnolo. During the decade when he was the greatest statesman in Italy and an important figure in trans-Alpine affairs M. Brion sees him as a tired philosopher absorbed in the management of his estates while Savonarola was winning from him the support of the rabble. While the friar's sermons were heard by men and women of all classes and all parties, there is as yet no proof that he was supplanting the Medici. Such a situation was not improbable, but if it existed, the causes were not political, as M. Brion thinks, but economic. Half a century before, Cosimo dei Medici had secured the support of the laboring classes by providing work for them in Florence and by protecting their interests in foreign markets. After his death the commercial supremacy of the Florentines declined rapidly; Lorenzo was held more or less responsible for the accompanying depression. To what extent this affected the loyalty of the people is yet to be determined; M. Brion's unsupported generalities are far from convincing. He gives no bibliography, so it is impossible to comment on his sources, but it seems evident that he used no contemporary manuscripts or he would hardly have spoken of "Lorenzo's beautiful handwriting" when the illegibility of the Medici letters is such an obstacle to research. Despite its shortcomings the book has many excellences, such as those who know the author's studies of Botticelli and Giotto have a right to expect. Particularly commendable are his re-creation of the charm of fifteenth century Florence and his generally accurate characterization.

Each of these studies adds something to our appreciation of Lorenzo as a symbol of the Renaissance, but they leave him merely a historical figure, not at all a convincing personality, partly because of the limitations of their information and partly because of the baffling problems of achievement and qualities, problems which invite the biography but defeat the biographer.

Wellesley, Massachusetts. GERTRUDE R. B. RICHARDS.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

William Tyndale. By J. F. Mozley. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. ix, 364. $4.00.)

During the half century that has elapsed since the publication of the second and final edition of Demaus's life of Tyndale much new material has come to light, and many studies have dispelled a good deal of the obscurity that long clouded the career of the greatest of the English Reformers. Mr. Mozley has, in this fresh biography, added to these studies investigations of his own that make his work a considerable advance on that of his precursor. He has discovered the date and circumstances of Tyndale's ordination, has illuminated his college years at Oxford, has followed him through Germany, and has carefully evaluated the sources and the literary qualities of his translations of the Bible.

For all this the student of English history and of English literature will be profoundly grateful. On the other hand, he will regret that Mr. Mozley has overlooked important material that might have added greatly to the value of his work. The scholar will find a review of much of this material and a fine appraisal of Tyndale's mind and influence in a recent article by M. M. Knappen in *Church History,* Volume V (1936). It will be helpful, perhaps, to devote the rest of this review to a few important points in which Mr. Mozley has fallen short of his opportunities.

The author states that Tyndale matriculated at Wittenberg University on May 27, 1524, under the name *Guillelmus Daltici* (or *Daltin*) *ex Anglia* (pp. 52 f.). In this he is undoubtedly right; but he is wrong in saying that the evidence for this fact has been "hitherto overlooked, though it has been in print for ninety years". The identification was made just as Mr. Mozley makes it, including the suggestion that "Daltin" should be read for "Daltici", in an article published in the *English Historical Review* in July, 1921.

On the vexed question of the authorship of the translation of Erasmus's *Enchiridion* Mr. Mozley says (p. 345): "This seems to be Tyndale's translation. It bears strong marks of his style. . . . I hope to put out the evidence elsewhere". Before he publishes his promised article he should read the fine study by Professor J. A. Gee, "Tyndale and the 1533 English Enchiridion", in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* Volume XLIX (1934).

The most interesting of all the bibliographical puzzles offered by the literary history of the sixteenth century is the provenance of a series of works by Tyndale and Roye which have on the title page the words, "At Marlborough in the lande of Hesse . . . By me, Hans Luft". Scholars have long ago recognized that these books could not have been printed by

Hans Luft, a Wittenberg printer, at Marburg in Hesse. It was long believed that they were printed either in Antwerp or in Hamburg by an unknown printer. In 1919 Miss M. E. Kronenberg published an article in *Het Boek* identifying the printer of some of these works, by the types used, with John Hoochstraten of Antwerp. These identifications are accepted, some as certain, some as probable, some as doubtful, by the editors of the great bibliography of sixteenth century Dutch works. All this Mr. Mozley knows. But apparently not only he but Professor Knappen and all other students of the subject have overlooked an article published in the (New York) *Nation* on May 16, 1912, an article which, if its assertions are accepted, places the whole matter in a new light. The author of this article shows that the woodcut on the title page of three of these Hans Luft books, namely, *The Obedience of a Christen Man* (1528), *An Exhoration to the diligent study of Scripture* (1529), and *A pistle to the Christian Reader* (1529), had been used earlier in various works issued by the Cologne printers Cervicorn and Soter. The woodcut, representing Venus and the three Graces, was the work of Anton Wönsam of Worms (see J. J. Merlo, *Kölnische Künstler*, 1895, p. 1046, no. 435). It was first used in a book printed by Cervicorn at Cologne in 1523; it was then used in three works published by Soter at Cologne in 1526-27. It can also be traced, in a new form, showing that it had been recut, in a work published by an Antwerp printer in 1529. The author of the article in the *Nation* discovered other interesting facts connecting the printing of the Hans Luft books with Cologne. And now Mr. L. A. Sheppard, in an extremely important essay published in the *Library*, December, 1935, has set forth new facts and hypotheses connecting the printing of the English Bible of 1535 with Cervicorn, Soter, and Marburg. He asserts, on the most convincing grounds, that this Bible was not printed, as commonly but rashly asserted, by Froschouer at Zurich but by types used by Cervicorn and Soter at Cologne in the years 1534-37. Moreover, he shows that Cervicorn was appointed university printer at Marburg, matriculating on November 25, 1535, only a few weeks after the printing of the English Bible was finished (on October 4, 1535). Now, all this evidence converges to the conclusion that Tyndale and the other translators of the English Bible had close relations with Cervicorn, Soter, and Marburg. The problem is not yet solved; but the abundant data cry for investigation. If Mr. Mozley, Mr. Sheppard, Professor Knappen, or Professor Gee will now undertake the careful and patient search necessary for the establishment of sound conclusions, he has an excellent opportunity to clear up definitely one of the most fascinating problems in the whole literary and religious history of England.

Cornell University. PRESERVED SMITH.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

William Tyndale. By J. F. Mozley. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. ix, 364. $4.00.)

During the half century that has elapsed since the publication of the second and final edition of Demaus's life of Tyndale much new material has come to light, and many studies have dispelled a good deal of the obscurity that long clouded the career of the greatest of the English Reformers. Mr. Mozley has, in this fresh biography, added to these studies investigations of his own that make his work a considerable advance on that of his precursor. He has discovered the date and circumstances of Tyndale's ordination, has illuminated his college years at Oxford, has followed him through Germany, and has carefully evaluated the sources and the literary qualities of his translations of the Bible.

For all this the student of English history and of English literature will be profoundly grateful. On the other hand, he will regret that Mr. Mozley has overlooked important material that might have added greatly to the value of his work. The scholar will find a review of much of this material and a fine appraisal of Tyndale's mind and influence in a recent article by M. M. Knappen in *Church History,* Volume V (1936). It will be helpful, perhaps, to devote the rest of this review to a few important points in which Mr. Mozley has fallen short of his opportunities.

The author states that Tyndale matriculated at Wittenberg University on May 27, 1524, under the name *Guillelmus Daltici* (or *Daltin*) *ex Anglia* (pp. 52 f.). In this he is undoubtedly right; but he is wrong in saying that the evidence for this fact has been "hitherto overlooked, though it has been in print for ninety years". The identification was made just as Mr. Mozley makes it, including the suggestion that "Daltin" should be read for "Daltici", in an article published in the *English Historical Review* in July, 1921.

On the vexed question of the authorship of the translation of Erasmus's *Enchiridion* Mr. Mozley says (p. 345): "This seems to be Tyndale's translation. It bears strong marks of his style. . . . I hope to put out the evidence elsewhere". Before he publishes his promised article he should read the fine study by Professor J. A. Gee, "Tyndale and the 1533 English Enchiridion", in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* Volume XLIX (1934).

The most interesting of all the bibliographical puzzles offered by the literary history of the sixteenth century is the provenance of a series of works by Tyndale and Roye which have on the title page the words, "At Marlborough in the lande of Hesse . . . By me, Hans Luft". Scholars have long ago recognized that these books could not have been printed by

Hans Luft, a Wittenberg printer, at Marburg in Hesse. It was long believed that they were printed either in Antwerp or in Hamburg by an unknown printer. In 1919 Miss M. E. Kronenberg published an article in *Het Boek* identifying the printer of some of these works, by the types used, with John Hoochstraten of Antwerp. These identifications are accepted, some as certain, some as probable, some as doubtful, by the editors of the great bibliography of sixteenth century Dutch works. All this Mr. Mozley knows. But apparently not only he but Professor Knappen and all other students of the subject have overlooked an article published in the (New York) *Nation* on May 16, 1912, an article which, if its assertions are accepted, places the whole matter in a new light. The author of this article shows that the woodcut on the title page of three of these Hans Luft books, namely, *The Obedience of a Christen Man* (1528), *An Exhoration to the diligent study of Scripture* (1529), and *A pistle to the Christian Reader* (1529), had been used earlier in various works issued by the Cologne printers Cervicorn and Soter. The woodcut, representing Venus and the three Graces, was the work of Anton Wönsam of Worms (see J. J. Merlo, *Kölnische Künstler,* 1895, p. 1046, no. 435). It was first used in a book printed by Cervicorn at Cologne in 1523; it was then used in three works published by Soter at Cologne in 1526-27. It can also be traced, in a new form, showing that it had been recut, in a work published by an Antwerp printer in 1529. The author of the article in the *Nation* discovered other interesting facts connecting the printing of the Hans Luft books with Cologne. And now Mr. L. A. Sheppard, in an extremely important essay published in the *Library,* December, 1935, has set forth new facts and hypotheses connecting the printing of the English Bible of 1535 with Cervicorn, Soter, and Marburg. He asserts, on the most convincing grounds, that this Bible was not printed, as commonly but rashly asserted, by Froschouer at Zurich but by types used by Cervicorn and Soter at Cologne in the years 1534-37. Moreover, he shows that Cervicorn was appointed university printer at Marburg, matriculating on November 25, 1535, only a few weeks after the printing of the English Bible was finished (on October 4, 1535). Now, all this evidence converges to the conclusion that Tyndale and the other translators of the English Bible had close relations with Cervicorn, Soter, and Marburg. The problem is not yet solved; but the abundant data cry for investigation. If Mr. Mozley, Mr. Sheppard, Professor Knappen, or Professor Gee will now undertake the careful and patient search necessary for the establishment of sound conclusions, he has an excellent opportunity to clear up definitely one of the most fascinating problems in the whole literary and religious history of England.

Cornell University. PRESERVED SMITH.

Juan de Valdés: La sua vita e il suo pensiero religioso. By EDMONDO CIONE. Con una completa bibliografia delle opere del Valdés e degli scritti intorno a lui. [Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna.] (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli. 1938. Pp. 195. 14 l.)

Alfabeto Cristiano: Dialogo con Giulia Gonzaga. By GIOVANNI DI VALDÉS. Introduzione, note, e appendici di B. CROCE. [Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna.] (*Ibid.* Pp. xxviii, 178. 16 l.)

THESE volumes are welcome, both for the task undertaken and for the way it has been performed. It was time that some competent scholar assembled the new material about Juan de Valdés, unique figure among sixteenth century reformers as a layman whose efforts were directed primarily at laymen. In 1922 his *Diálogo de la Doctrina Cristiana* was discovered by Bataillon in the library of the University of Lisbon. It was reproduced in facsimile, with introduction and notes, in 1925. In 1937 the first edition of the Italian translation of his *Alfabeto Cristiano* turned up in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples, in time to claim an appendix in the volume of Cione but too late to be used in the present edition by Croce. The latter contains, however, seven letters of Valdés to Cobos, imperial secretary of state, regarding Giulia Gonzaga and the Spanish administration of Naples, as well as precious details about the last will and testament of Valdés. Cione's book is important not only in making use of the new material but in fitting into the picture older material difficult to reconcile with that originally drawn of Valdés by the Quakers Wiffen and Usoz de Rio. We have not indeed the dossier of his trial by the Inquisition, but we know that the attack on his *Diálogo de la Doctrina Cristiana* drove him from Spain in 1529. In Italy he was protected from persecution by the bull which his influential brother Alfonso prudently secured from Clement VII.

The works of Valdés written in Italy do not exist in the Spanish originals. Croce's edition of the *Alfabeto Cristiano* is based on the unique exemplar (1546) of the Italian translation by Marcantonio Magno, preserved in the British Museum and first published in 1860. Its interest lies not only in the circumstance of its origin, the dissatisfaction of Donna Giulia with the sermons of Ochino, which she attended, and her successful appeal to Valdés. It lies also in the spirited give and take between them. After stating her case, Giulia becomes the listener, whose close attention is evinced by her quick and terse rejoinders. She is in as deadly earnest as he; but while Valdés drives home his points with scriptural allusion and homely illustration, Giulia comments often with humor and is never convinced too easily. If the mastery of the Christian Alphabet with its twelve steps secures the hope of eternal life, the book for advanced study is then *il proprio libro,* the name by which Valdés was accustomed to call his own mind.

In his biographical sketch of Valdés, Cione relies mainly on archival

material, as in the important chapter on the teaching of Valdés. The biographical chapter separates what the author has to say about Erasmus and mysticism from what he says about the teaching of Valdés, who broke with "the mild semi-pelagianism of Erasmus" and in his *Doctrina Cristiana,* while admitting his debt to the author of the *Enchiridion,* turned to St. Paul, for whose tormenting religious experience he felt a deep sympathy. Oriental and Neoplatonic influences on Valdés are not seen by Cione (as by Heep in 1909), but he agrees with the evidence as to the debt to Tauler. Croce finds in the teaching of Valdés a new moral philosophy which will one day take the name of Emanuel Kant and considers of little or no interest the question of his debt to earlier mystics.

Cione has provided his book with two indexes (of names in the text and of names in the bibliography). The bibliography is complete, well arranged, accurate, and critical.

The University of Idaho. FREDERIC C. CHURCH.

A Cardinal of the Medici: Being the Memoirs of the Nameless Mother of the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici. By Mrs. HICKS BEACH. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. ix, 411. $3.00.)

THIS narrative of the early sixteenth century is a work of real learning and much charm. Mrs. Hicks Beach has chosen a difficult medium. To simulate a historical memoir is to place a severe strain upon the profoundness of the writer's information. It is no small praise to say that the author seems to the modern critic to have achieved the sixteenth century, even as to color of thought and feeling.

The writer of this memoir is represented as a lady in waiting at the court of Urbino. In various cities she follows the fortunes of her adventurous son, Ippolito de' Medici, who, somehow, fails to become the hero of the tale. The lady created by Mrs. Hicks Beach remains throughout more significant than the creature of history. She grows continually in distinction of mind, knowing disillusionment without cynicism, grasping the realities of life without despising its outward forms—a true child of Urbino and the twilight of the Italian renaissance.

Other arresting portraits are presented. Elisabetta Gonzaga is shown from many angles, overprecious but fundamentally simple and fine. Pietro Bembo is a living personality, growing dim beneath the worldly wisdom of the courtier. Pope Leo X, obese, unfeeling, superficially refined, also rings true. Strangely enough, Giuliano de' Medici, whose spell enmeshes the lady of Urbino, is one of the unrealities of the book.

Questions of fact scarcely arise. Matters of emphasis are about all that the author has left to the critic, and these can usually be explained by the personal bias of the memoir. Medici reactions may be responsible for the

claim that Salvestro de' Medici gave equality to all classes in Florence (p. 19), and similar personal motives might explain the slight inaccuracies of statement concerning the papal elections of 1513 and 1521 (pp. 50, 126). Ippolito's mother is, perhaps, too certain of the universal acceptance of the belief that Clement VII was the father of Alessandro de' Medici. If this had been so generally suspected at the time, why should the Venetian ambassador have put into the mouth of Ippolito himself the argument that Alessandro was the son of the hated Lorenzo (duke of Urbino) while he (Ippolito) was the son of Giuliano de' Medici, beloved by the Florentines? Ippolito based several arguments for his superior claim to Florence on this version of their parentage. True, the Venetian ambassador comments pointedly upon the pope's affection for Alessandro, but he explains this strange preference by Ippolito's incorrigible insubordination. Another unsolved problem—that of the sudden death of the Cardinal Ippolito at Itri—is very deftly handled.

Unfortunately the author believes that complete annotation would give an air of "spurious erudition" (p. viii). There is therefore no opportunity to discover the basis for her somewhat unsympathetic treatment of Giulia Gonzaga. The only reference is to the biography by Bruto Amante, but this conception cannot be derived from him. As is usually the case, the absence of documentation is regrettable.

Those who are most familiar with this period will best realize the subtlety and ability with which this study has been accomplished.

Goucher College. KATHARINE JEANNE GALLAGHER.

Deutsche und Engländer: Wesen und Werden in grosser Geschichte. Von ARNOLD OSKAR MEYER. (Munich: C. H. Beck. 1937. Pp. vi, 326. 5.65 M.)

WHEN the latest incumbent of the most sought after chair of German history, that in the University of Berlin, publishes a collection of his minor works, the reader, in times like these, may legitimately raise the question, does it explain how or why this scholar, otherwise not well known abroad, was raised to his exalted position? In other words, does either his choice of problems or his treatment of them indicate something about the *Wissenschaftspolitik* in the Third Reich? It is not the reviewer's fault if the question is easily answered and the history in the case turns out to be thinly disguised politics. For the truly scientific part of Professor Meyer's essays is slight. The chief themes are these: "Thoughts on German National Character in the Mirror of German History" (a convenient summary of the discussions on Germanism and Christianity and of the question, which has injured the other more?); "From the History of German National Feeling"; "Kant's Ethics and the Prussian State"; "Metternich"; "Bismarck's Peace Policy"; "The Moral Bases of Bismarck's Policy"; "King James I of England"; "Cromwell"; "England and the British Empire". A

few of the essays have been left as originally printed; those that lend themselves to a political reading, however, are altered. The one on Metternich, first published in 1924, has not so much worked in the new materials of Srbik and Bibl but rather has added on pages 122 and 132 genuflections before another Austrian: "We have since experienced with an impact surpassing all expectations the resurrection of a strong state power, the necessity for which is eternal law in Metternich's eyes." An attempt is made to save Christianity from the hands of the Rosenbergs by reminding those still higher in power that Bismarck, Germany's greatest statesman, was a Christian from the bottom of his heart (p. 117), a defense which, together with the further discussion of Bismarck's morality, reminds one how old that attempt is, how much it owed to Bismarck himself, and how it was answered at that time by that *Unbekannter* in Vienna, who wrote some of the best German epistolary prose: "If B. believes in his believing, then—God forgive me!—God himself is a Prussian and I myself surrender to the devil who is, I hope, at least something of an Austrian" (*Briefe eines Unbekannten*, 1879).

Compared with this lofty stuff of German history, the articles dealing with British history are solid, showing the victory of economic interests (p. 267) or the total yearly income of the plutocratic Long Parliament (p. 256). But they are equally cautious; Meyer's portrait of Cromwell is as safe as that of Oncken was unsafe for its author, who had made the parallel with a later *Führer* rather uncomfortable. The essay on England and the British Empire has received a new ending, different from that of 1929, an exhortation directed across the North Sea to remember the common Nordic qualities of order and "the high appreciation of the creative personality" (p. 305). This recent image of England reminds one again how interesting a topic waits for its treatment—German historians and their England.

Sherman, Connecticut. ALFRED VAGTS.

The Netherlands Divided, 1609-1648. By P. GEYL, Professor of Modern History in the University of Utrecht. Translated by S. T. Bindoff in collaboration with the author. (London: Williams & Norgate. 1936. Pp. 284. 12*s.* 6*d.*)

IN this interesting work, as the title indicates, both the northern and the southern provinces of the Netherlands are discussed, though the seven tiny states which comprised the Dutch Republic receive the greater share of attention owing to their great economic power and their relatively high degree of culture. The author corrects a viewpoint widely held by historians, among them even Henri Pirenne, who believed that in the southern provinces the inhabitants remained in possession of their ancient political privileges, instead of being dominated by the policies determined upon in Madrid and after 1713 in Vienna (p. 23). On the other hand, he himself

errs when he declares that the orthodox Calvinists in the Dutch Republic were of the opinion that "for them and for the Reformed Church alone Christ had died" (p. 46).

Professor Geyl makes it very clear that the so-called Flemish language as a literary tongue (distinguished somewhat from the local dialects spoken in Flanders and Brabant) is the same as what Americans call the Dutch language; he speaks correctly of the Dutch-speaking provinces of Flanders, Brabant, and Upper Gelderland (p. 15). Another important observation made by the author is that in the first half of the seventeenth century the war against Spain had become a struggle for the maintenance of the Calvinist faith, though William the Silent had inaugurated it for political and national interests (p. 81). Nevertheless, as late as the middle of the seventeenth century only about half of the population in the province of Holland was affiliated with the orthodox Calvinist churches; the rest were either liberal Calvinists, Baptists, or Catholics (p. 211). The author, considering the age of which he speaks, believes with Descartes that in Holland, in spite of periodical outbursts of mild intolerance, men "enjoyed liberty more than elsewhere"; and he defends the ruling class in the big cities against the scholars in foreign states ruled by absolute monarchs, for the latter could not understand how it was possible or proper for the patricians to have acquired so much economic and political power, seeing that they had just risen from the class of the "brewers, the tanners, and the soapboilers" (p. 249).

Although the book is written in a popular vein, it retains throughout the earmarks of a scholarly publication, the text being accompanied by footnotes printed in the back of the book, together with a valuable bibliographical note and a very good index. The balance is well maintained between the political narrative on the one hand and the discussion of social, political, and cultural factors on the other hand.

The University of Michigan. A. Hyma.

The Physical Treatises of Pascal: The Equilibrium of Liquids and The Weight of the Mass of the Air. Translated by I. H. B. and A. G. H. Spiers, with Introduction and Notes by Frederick Barry. [Records of Civilization, edited under the auspices of the Department of History, Columbia University, Austin P. Evans, General Editor.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. xxviii, 181. $3.25.)

The rare blending in the prose of Pascal of simple charm with trenchant criticism—long recognized by scholars in the humanities—has been less familiar to students in the sciences than the virtuosity of his method. Such an unfortunate situation, resulting, perhaps, from the fact that Blaise Pascal left to posterity an account of his scientific work which is tantaliz-

ingly meager, is the more to be regretted inasmuch as the genius of Pascal lay not so much in originality of conception as in a remarkable flair for the clarification of ideas. The hydrostatic paradox had been implied by the work of Archimedes and Stevin, and the effects of atmospheric pressure had been correctly described in the experiences of Torricelli; but it was Pascal who made these phenomena vivid and unambiguously intelligible. This he did through the shrewd selection of cleverly devised crucial experiments, carried out with meticulously correct procedure and through the application of a keen logical penetration which enabled him to grasp immediately the implications of his work and to recognize clearly the correlation of the principles involved. Pascal as a result conducted his attack upon the doctrine of the *horror vacui* with a vigor and effectiveness beyond that which had been achieved by Galileo. For these reasons the *Physical Treatises*—here given in a delightful and yet sound translation—are recognized as constituting one of the classics of scientific literature.

The concepts of science are the result of centuries of cumulative effort to furnish a picture of nature which shall be self-consistent in an ever-widening universe of discourse; but to no individual may there be ascribed a prescience of the part which his ideas will play in the scientific patterns of the future. His contributions are not to be regarded as consciously directed toward the development of present-day theories; nor is his work to be interpreted, as all too easily it may be, in terms of the latter. Pascal lived during a period in which such notions as mass, density, pressure, force, work were not the commonplaces of science which they are today but were in process of formulation. For a proper understanding of this critical epoch in the history of science a ready availability of sources is greatly to be desired. In this respect, and particularly with reference to the development of the statics of fluids, the present book serves such a purpose admirably—better, in fact, than its modest title would imply. It contains not only the decisive work of Pascal, as found in his *Physical Treatises* and in other fragments, but adds as well, in appendixes, translations into English of pertinent passages from Stevin, Galileo, and Torricelli. A timely foreword, a bibliographical note, a serviceable index, explanatory and suggestive footnotes, and well-executed diagrams further enhance the value of this attractive volume.

Brooklyn College. CARL B. BOYER.

The Works of John Milton. Edited by FRANK ALLEN PATTERSON and others. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1931-1938. 18 volumes in 21 books. $315, de luxe edition; $105, library edition.)

IT is among the more agreeable coincidences in the history of English literature, if it is a coincidence, that almost precisely three hundred years

after John Milton's first contributions to that literature—*Comus* and *Lycidas*—first saw the light of print, the first complete edition of his writings should be brought to its conclusion. This splendid memorial to one whom many regard as the greatest of English poets is due to the untiring efforts of the president of Columbia University. Acting on a suggestion made to him apparently nearly twenty-five years ago by Professor W. P. Trent, he has, as the editors tell us, "kept watch over the evolution of the work and has furthered the labors of the editorial board in every way in his power". Thus it will remain a monument not only to the poet but to the president and professors of Columbia University. As it is the only complete, so it will be the "standard" edition of Milton, a landmark by which all future editions of any of his writings must set their course, whether in agreement or disagreement with its text, its notes, or its translations.

That there will be disagreement there can be no doubt. No work of such a scope, carried on by so many hands, whose text and translations must of necessity be controversial at many points, can possibly escape severe and searching criticism. For years to come the rarefied altitudes in which pure scholarship resides will be profoundly agitated by the controversies over this reading or that interpretation. There will be long lists of addenda, delenda, and especially corrigenda. There will, no doubt, be arguments of greater or less acrimony. It is not too much to expect that some small reputations may be made by pointing out errors of commission or omission in this great work. All this is to be expected, for that is the spirit of scholarship, and that is the way to truth; and this, among other things, will ensure the future of this great edition. It will be not merely the complete corpus of Milton's writings, it will become, in a sense, the measure of the knowledge of his works.

In any brief review of this great edition it would be unfitting, as it would be impossible, to note the small infinity of points in which one might disagree with various editors. Everyone differs in his conception of the particular English phrases which should be used in translating the Latin writings, and one need only go back to the eighteenth century translations to perceive not merely how true this is but how greatly that difficult and dangerous art is affected not merely by different concepts but by different fashions from generation to generation. As the whole history of that art demonstrates, there can never be such a thing as a "standard" translation. And, on the other hand, as the editors' notes and addenda themselves indicate, there are other documents, especially in the so-called "state papers", which might have been included here. One prolific source of criticism the editors have avoided. They have not introduced each part of the work with a historical and critical introduction. Nor was that, in a sense, necessary, for it would have been in considerable measure a résumé of Masson. With his monumental *Life* and this no less monumental edition, there is but one

other English author who has anything like the memorials now erected in Milton's honor. But even here there is a difference. Since the seventeenth century it has been possible to view the work of Shakespeare as a whole, however little we have learned of his life; but this is the first time that we have been given a complete and convenient conspectus of the whole of Milton's literary labors.

It may be a peculiarly "simple" thought, but to one who has been for many years not wholly unfamiliar with Milton in his various aspects nothing has ever given quite the same conception of the man as all these titles in a row and the writings in a uniform and readable form. In them is revealed more clearly than anywhere else within the same compass the poet-pamphleteer-historian-grammarian-logician-theologian-social reformer-schoolmaster-Latinist-foreign language secretary which was John Milton. To probably the vast majority of mankind he was the author of *Paradise Lost* and various immortal so-called "minor" poems. To a far smaller company he was the author of some tracts, notably the *Areopagitica* and the various "defenses" of the revolutionary party known as "Puritan", the champion of liberty whether in the execution of a king or in his own matrimonial misadventures. To a still smaller company he was the author of various so-called "state papers" or letters from the authorities of the Commonwealth to foreign princes and powers. There is some mention of him as a historian of Britain, though there are very few, no doubt, who have ever heard of his "history" of Muscovia. There is a mere handful who have known of him as a grammarian or a logician, and still fewer who know him as the author of four thick volumes on Christian doctrine—which, as it happens, form by far the largest single body of writing in all this list.

So, in sum, the greatest of English poets of his sort was, in fact, the author of rather less than four volumes of poetry and seventeen thicker volumes of prose; or, to be statistical, some four thousand pages of prose and nine hundred of verse. That is, like most statistics, of far less importance than the difference in quality. To those who have never read much, or any, of Milton's prose, he stands as the noble and eloquent defender of liberty; and his various tracts are admired—from afar—as the expression of man's loftiest emotions on that loftiest of subjects. A closer view dispels that agreeable illusion. They do, indeed, contain some passages of great and splendid rhetoric; but in no small part they are not merely the dullest but often the most scurrilous of reading. His attacks on Morus reach depths scarcely attained save by Prynne. His famous *Eikonoklastes* is one of the dullest and least convincing defenses ever penned, if one excepts some of his other apologies for regicide. This, of course, is heresy; and in his capacity as secretary to the council of state he would have suppressed it, as he helped to suppress other criticisms of the existing government, for the practice of the

author of the *Areopagitica* varied widely from his theory, once he was in power. In this he differed little from his generation, and that must remain, as it has long been, his defense.

And, curiously enough, the publication of his collected works will add nothing to the reputation of Milton. For the sake of that reputation it would be better had he never written any prose at all, had he never taken part in the controversies of the Puritan Revolution, had he never held office, had he never been married. He was possessed of the highest poetic genius; he had an imagination and a gift of phrase unsurpassed in English if not in any other literature. But as a prose writer, as a historian, as a pamphleteer, he was surpassed by many men, then and since. He seldom rose above mediocrity; he sometimes even fell below it; and one needs to know little of his life to realize that, with all his splendid gifts, he was an unpleasant man, with many admirers but few or no friends, difficult or impossible to live with, and, as is apparent from his writings here presented, which are so largely in defense of himself even more than of the causes he championed, selfish and self-centered, egotistical, bad-tempered, contemptuous of others, and in general unlovable. To perceive this we need no more than his own words. As one goes through these volumes he is prepared to give the author of the verse the highest praise of which our language is capable and to forgive him almost anything. But he cannot but regret that Milton was not content to write his immortal poetry and let the rest of the world be damned in its own way. For, among its other great contributions to Miltoniana, this magnificent edition does more than any single thing to provide a corrective to Professor Masson's unrivaled but too eulogistic account of the poet's life. It will unquestionably serve to open another era in Miltonic biography; but that era will, almost equally without question, lean more to the views of Mark Pattison than to those of David Masson. There is much here, both of Milton's life and of his writings, which, in his own words, the world would only too willingly let die.

Yet without it we should have no true picture of the poet who, to his own loss and our own, turned pamphleteer and politician. Despite innumerable attempts of various men at various times to play both roles, there are few instances or none where poets have made good politicians or politicians good poets. Perhaps the ancients were right and the poet is like the fabled peacock which had no feet and so could never tread the earth which supports the rest of us. If, like that fabulous creature, Milton could have been content only to use his pastoral and his epic wing, if he had not raised his harsh, untunable voice in the world of politics, if he had refrained from exposing the weakness of his judgment as a historian, his reputation as a poet would not have suffered, and his character as a man would have stood higher.

Cambridge, Massachusetts. W. C. Abbott.

Englische Geschichte im achtzehnten Jahrhundert. Von WOLFGANG MICHAEL. Band IV. *Das Zeitalter Walpoles,* Teil 3. (Berlin: Verlag für Staatswissenschaften und Geschichte. 1937. Pp. xvi, 608. 32 M.)

THIS, the fourth volume of Dr. Michael's *Englische Geschichte,* of which volumes one and three were reviewed in this journal (XL, 732, and XLII, 530), sustains the author's reputation for sound workmanship. His thoroughness, his originality, and his fairness of judgment, considered in connection with the wide scope of his subject, are impressive.

The main aspects of English history which Dr. Michael considers are the constitutional, the economic, and the diplomatic. Only in the discussion of constitutional government is the author narrowly concerned with Walpole's England; and thus the subtitle, *Das Walpole'sche England,* must be liberally construed, for the background of England's diplomatic relations includes the various courts of Europe, and the field of her colonial and commercial interests extends west to the Mississippi and east to the Ganges.

Possibly because the constitutional problem has its own natural limitations, Dr. Michael's clear and accurate analysis of parliamentary government forms his most successful contribution. In spite of his investigation of numerous original sources, however, he has added nothing of significance to certain phases of this subject, such as patronage, corruption, and the rise of the opposition.

Dr. Michael's approach to the problems of foreign trade is new, for he has drawn heavily upon the correspondence of foreign diplomats. In studying an age of highly developed nationalism it is enlightening to examine English commercial policies and trade statistics through the eyes of the French, the Austrian, and the Prussian ministers.

The chapters on colonial trade and administration suffer somewhat by comparison. Greater familiarity with recent studies in the field might have led Dr. Michael to a rather different interpretation of the defects in colonial administration and the significance of the Walpole era in the history of the British Empire. He suggests the contrast between Walpole's refusal to consider a plan for colonial taxation and Grenville's mistake in a later period; but he might well have added that a long period of laxity in law enforcement under Walpole produced a situation in the colonies which made his successors' most reasonable attempts at administrative reform objectionable to the colonists. Furthermore, in the light of extensive research by other scholars, Dr. Michael's conclusion in regard to the board of trade seems only superficially justified: "So steht es da ohne Initiative, ohne festen Standpunkt, als ein ewig retardierenden Factor" (p. 294).

He is on more certain ground in his chapters which deal with foreign politics, and one admires the ease with which he guides his reader through the mazes of eighteenth century diplomacy. He represents Walpole's success in maintaining England's neutrality during the War of the Polish Succes-

sion, without sacrificing the balance of power in Europe, as one of the chief evidences of his genius.

By bringing together the fruits of years of research Dr. Michael has placed historical scholars in his debt. Even a casual glance at the footnotes reveals an extensive use of continental archives and the writings of continental scholars, while the text illustrates how English history may be enriched from such sources.

Reference to the footnotes, however, will immediately disclose certain of the technical defects of this publication. The citations are often too abbreviated to be easily interpreted by a scholar less well-informed than Dr. Michael himself, and the typographical errors are not limited to the notes but appear on every page of the text, in German as well as in English. The decision to omit an index is regrettable. Surely a work of such value deserves more care in its publication.

Wilson College. DORA MAE CLARK.

An Economic History of Europe since 1750. By WITT BOWDEN, Senior Economic Analyst, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics; MICHAEL KARPOVICH, Assistant Professor of History, Harvard University; and ABBOTT PAYSON USHER, Professor of Economics, Harvard University. (New York: American Book Company. 1937. Pp. viii, 948. $4.25.)

THE time was overripe for a new survey of the economic development of modern Europe, for a lot of economic history has been written as well as made since the texts by Ogg, Knowles, Day, and Birnie appeared. That double development makes the task too large for one author, and teamwork is almost inevitable. From the team of Bowden, Karpovich, and Usher we know what to expect: good work on eighteenth century England from the first, an authoritative treatment of Russia from the second, and ample consideration of technological and geographical factors from the third. We are not disappointed. The essence of Mr. Bowden's well-known monograph is here; the four chapters on Russia are excellent; and the descriptions of Liebig's researches, of the Rothamsted experiments, of modern buttermaking, of railroad engines, of electrical generation and transmission, of the iron and steel industry, and of the relation between the distribution of resources and of population are invaluable novelties in a textbook. Statistics are lavishly supplied, and the bibliography is a godsend. Slips are few and far between.

The chief novelty of the book, apart from its recognition of the fact that physical resources and technologies merit attention along with social institutions, is the treatment of economic history "as an integral part of general history". This is splendidly healthy. It is done "not so much by the inclusion of the data of general history as by the plan of organization and by emphasis on the interaction of economic, political, and cultural factors" (p. iii). In

practice, however, very substantial chunks of political history have been included; whole sections or chapters (*e.g.*, chapters 5, 17, and some of the postwar chapters) might be fitted into any general, or even political, history of Europe. The political influence goes further, in determining the dividing lines between the six periods or parts into which the story is cut. Part I surveys economic conditions and organization in the early eighteenth century; Part II is entitled "New Philosophies and a New Industrialism, 1750-1789"; Part III, "The Age of Revolutions, 1789-1832"; Part IV, "The Ascendancy of British Enterprise, 1832-1870"; Part V, "The Struggle for the World Market, 1871-1914"; and Part VI, "The New Europe". But the fences break down time after time; much of six chapters out of the seven in Part II belongs largely to Part I or to a still earlier period, Part III overflows its banks in at least two chapters out of six, and Part V does so in three chapters out of eight. Of course this is inevitable, for no dates would be leakproof; but I wish that the whole book, or as an alternative that each part, had been preceded by a brief overview which brought out the distinctive features of each period and justified the dividing lines.

The arrangement of the material, especially in the early part of the book, is puzzling, and students who come fresh to the subject will have difficulty in piecing together a picture of the prerevolutionary economic conditions and trends. They will also come away from the study with a very unevenly distributed body of knowledge. They will know much about the open field system, enclosures, land tenure, and agricultural science; but does that cover the story of European agriculture? They will know much about changes in commercial policy, from the mercantilists to the autarchists, but little about international trade and less about domestic commerce. They will have read a series of brilliant chapters on postwar topics but will lack a general picture of that sad period. They will understand many technological changes and know of many movements among capitalists and wage earners, of institutions and laws, of thinkers and books—including eight pages on List; but they will not always know the economic effects of these things. They will not know how industry after Boulton or transportation after Stephenson was financed, what joint-stock companies did, how the modern banking system worked, how the business curve went up and down, and how enterprise succeeded or failed. They will have met Bakunin, Bebel, and Bernstein but not the Barings; Robespierre, Rodbertus, and Roscher but not the Rothschilds. In short, they will still have much to learn, much which might have made the dry bones live or given a glimpse of the wheels going round and of the man in charge of them.

The University of Minnesota. HERBERT HEATON.

Henry Grattan. By ROGER J. MCHUGH. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1937. Pp. 222. $1.75.)

The Rise of the United Irishmen, 1791-94. By Rosamond Jacob. (London: George G. Harrap and Company. 1937. Pp. 266. 12*s.* 6*d.*)

Mr. McHugh's absorbing short biography of Henry Grattan will, if sympathetically read, safeguard the reputation of one statesman at a time when all liberals would seem to be suspect. One may now well challenge the verdict that Grattan was one "bathed in sentimental loyalty to the British Crown". Within his deliberately chosen sphere of action, constitutional expediency, he waged for forty-five years an incessant fight for political reform and Catholic emancipation. And it was the dying Grattan who passed the Irish standard to the youthful O'Connell. Miss Jacob in her work upon the United Irishmen is impatient of Grattan. Her hero, Wolfe Tone, regarded Grattan's contribution as "a bungling, imperfect business". Tone, however, was a revolutionary and a separatist; and he, Fitzgerald, young Emmet, and the others gave their lives heedlessly. They had no chance of winning in '98 or later. Grattan, like O'Connell, refused to sanction bloodshed.

In the parliamentary arena Grattan fought against insuperable odds and knew it. In 1782 he won "independence" and an Irish parliament, such as it was; and he was instrumental in the removal of certain trade restrictions and the abolition of a large part of the penal code. His great mistake was his trustfulness of the British ministry. He neglected to gain legal safeguards for his "independent" parliament and permitted the Volunteers to disband. Henceforth he could proceed only when friendliness was exhibited in London or by taking advantage of England's importunities. One may criticize Miss Jacob's work for its lack of understanding of Grattan; but, in turn, one may quibble with Mr. McHugh for his neglect of the United Irishmen and the broad stage of Irish opinion. Mr. McHugh's contribution lies in his interpretation of Grattan and in catching the significance of his role in Irish history. Throughout, the book is temperate in tone and distinguished by fine writing.

Miss Jacob's work upon the United Irishmen is of a more searching character. McHugh confines himself to the broad current of a great stream, whereas Miss Jacob, who modestly refers to herself as "an inexperienced historian", pushes back into minute headwaters. She attempts to trace the rise of the United Irishmen, to explain a movement that embraced both Catholic and Protestant, Dublin and Ulster, and to reveal its potential greatness, which, because of its suppression in 1794, never attained status in recorded history. Her short epilogue, concerned with the abortive rising of '98, contains all that most students know of the United Irishmen. Briefly, this movement for Irish political reform had its beginnings among the Protestants of Ulster in 1791. Under the strong impetus of the French Revolution, its leaders extended their concept of equality and fraternity to the Catholics. Belfast adopted a platform of Catholic emancipation, and the

United Irishmen spread rapidly to the towns of northern and eastern Ireland. The Catholic Committee in Dublin responded vigorously to this helping hand, and for a time their joint drive threatened to embarrass the government. London yielded a measure of relief to the Catholics in an effort to split the alliance. Though the Catholic Committee did disband, both elements, as United Irishmen, continued the fight for reform. The declaration of war against France, however, enabled the government to break up the movement. Tone and the radicals in the organization were in touch with France and courted French aid, which came too late. The United Irishmen tried to find support among the masses, but the Defenders and such loosely organized groups were interested only in wreaking their vengeance upon erring landlords. After suppression in 1794, the radicals, a mere skeleton, stumbled on until ruthlessly crushed in the Rising of '98.

Miss Jacob has written a masterly work. One might argue, however, that she painfully labors several points which lend a tone of unreality to certain of her pages. She remembers too vividly, for example, the conquest. Her Englishmen are land thieves. She never wholeheartedly accepts the Dublin Catholics as Irishmen—they spoke English; and similarly she never quite reconciles herself to the fact that the Belfast Dissenters were Irishmen. The "lower Irish", whose culture she refers to yet never describes, alone qualify. Yet she realizes, certainly, that the masses played no part in the history of the period. As someone else has written, they were too preoccupied in toiling against hunger and want to have any thought of political activity. A realization of this fact and a simple statement of their plight in her introductory chapter would have spared her much worry—and yielded better history.

Vanderbilt University. JOHN POMFRET.

The Romantic Age: Europe in the Early Nineteenth Century. By R. B. MOWAT, Professor of History in the University of Bristol. (London: George G. Harrap and Company. 1937. Pp. 280. 6*s*.)

IN the preface to a preceding volume Professor Mowat wrote: "It is surprising how many judgments, hitherto accepted without question, have now to be altered, sometimes because new material has been discovered, but in other cases simply because it has occurred to somebody to think out an old situation anew." In the light of these words and of Professor Mowat's past performance we were justified in looking forward with eagerness to his treatment of the Romantic age. No other period stands so much in need of a new thinking out and the bringing together of extant but unfamiliar material. It is therefore doubly regrettable to have to report that the present work disappoints our expectation. More than that, it raises serious doubts about the adequacy of the author's preparation for his subject.

Professor Mowat has apparently not thought it worth while to tackle the question: What is Romanticism in its essence, and what was it in its historical manifestations? Nor have his instincts saved him from using the adjective Romantic (as we all do) in a dozen different senses, ranging from foolish and unpractical to poetic and picturesque. Deprived of an intellectual criterion wherewith to limit his study and yet judging rightly that a bare chronological scheme will not work, the author floats about, as it were, on the surface of the entire nineteenth century. We are told, for example, what Tolstoy's and Renan's views on certain subjects were, as if these writers were spiritual contemporaries of Wordsworth and Metternich; while actual contemporary opponents of acknowledged Romantics are explained away as "cold eighteenth century rationalists". The historian has patently neglected his task, which was to indicate the basic attitudes common to, let us say, Byron and Bonald, Scott and Hazlitt, common to the age as a whole, and so to substantiate the title of his book while replacing in the reader's mind apparent contradiction by historical comprehension.

If, as seems likely, this work was intended as an introduction to the subject, it will leave the youthful reader—and the older reader whose special interests have lain elsewhere—with the all-too-common idea that a whole generation of men between 1789 and 1860 were melancholy poets who did nothing of lasting importance and died young. At the same time, a contrary impression will emerge from such passages as concern Fichte, Carlyle, the Schlegels, and others; and the two impressions together will suggest or strengthen the false conclusion that, unlike other periods, the Romantic age defies historical analysis and cultural order.

With regard to particulars, many of Professor Mowat's judgments, or perhaps the words he chooses to express them, could be questioned. As an example of this, the statement, "National Socialism is a kind of Neo-Romanticism" (p. 43), contradicts not only the facts but the author himself, who says: "The Romantic writers and thinkers were not national, but they were humane . . . cosmopolitan" (p. 58 and also pp. 233, 247). Lacking criteria and a sense of continuity, the author is capricious in his allotment of space. He devotes five chapters to Germany and none to the French Romanticists. He makes no mention of Coleridge, Sismondi, Beddoes, Büchner, Hoffman, Berlioz, Jane Austen, Blake, Goya, Lord Elgin, Schopenhauer, or Balzac in contexts where they seem called for; and he accords only trivial mention to Lessing, Rossini, Spinoza, Michelet, Lord Brougham, Mazzini, and the brothers Grimm. He gives credit to Emile Deschanel for "suggestive ideas" that come from Stendhal's *Racine et Shakespeare;* he traces to Haller the Romantics' medievalism, neglecting the social, religious, and historiographic reasons for the movement; he makes too much of Fichte's contribution to National Socialism and refutes modern Germany's racialism while making frequent use of racial criteria himself. Lastly, he

concludes with a Plutarchian parallel of the peace settlements of 1815 and 1919, adducing as a historical distinction worth noting that "Napoleon was not a gentleman but the Allied statesmen [of 1815] certainly were" and adding, "I do not mean in saying this to imply that the men who conducted the World War . . . were not gentlemen; but war and peace were certainly made in an ungentlemanly way" (p. 273).

Columbia University. JACQUES BARZUN.

The Italian Exiles in London, 1816-1848. By MARGARET W. WICKS. (Manchester: University Press. 1937. Pp. xv, 316. 12*s.* 6*d.*)

THE first two chapters of this book deal with Ugo Foscolo, the great Italian poet, who spent his last years as an exile in England. Our knowledge of his life during those years remains unchanged in its basic lines, but it is enriched by means of unpublished material diligently collected and intelligently utilized.

Not less valuable are the fourth and fifth chapters, on Santorre di Santa Rosa and Antonio Panizzi, respectively. Especially valuable is the former, not only because of the wealth of new information which it contains, but also because the writer has been completely won over by the moral beauty of the man's character and in describing his generous and dignified life has displayed in the highest degree her unusual literary gifts.

The third and sixth chapters are devoted to a large number of other persons, many of whom played a remarkable role in Italian intellectual history. On some of them, such as Gabriele Rossetti (the father of Dante Gabriele), very little that was new could be said. On others the information was scarce, or the writer did not have the time to investigate the problems more deeply. It was difficult to avoid this drawback, since so many people had to be considered.

The weakest part of the book is the last chapter, dealing with Giuseppe Mazzini, not because it would have been "presumptuous to attempt to add anything to what is already written about him" (p. 182), but because the already known material, if adequately utilized, would have permitted the writer to give a fuller and more living account of him. For example, the relations between Mazzini and Jane Welsh, the wife of Carlyle, deserved a better illustration. Two letters in Italian written by Jane in 1840 and 1841 to Mazzini's mother—two jewels of freshness, abandon, and affection and a delicious mass of orthographical, grammatical, and syntactical errors (I. Cremona Cozzolino, *Maria Mazzini e il suo ultimo carteggio,* Genoa, "Imperia", 1927, pp. 243 ff.)—deserved to be mentioned, perhaps even to be reproduced in their entirety. Miss Wicks, I do not know why, has avoided saying frankly that Jane fell in love with Mazzini. Therefore she has overlooked a beautiful letter of July 15, 1846 (published in J. A. Froude's *Thomas Carlyle,* ed. of 1884, I. 329), in which Mazzini explained

to Jane why they had the obligation to each other not to pass the limits of fraternal tenderness. Jane accepted this decision in a generous and pure spirit. Why should one ignore this episode, which is all to the honor of both characters?

Much precious information is undoubtedly buried in the state archives at Vienna, in the correspondence of the Austrian ambassadors in London with Metternich, and in the reports of Austrian spies who were shadowing the Italian exiles in England. The research done in those archives on the Italian exiles in France has yielded rich results. Miss Wicks has the training and the intelligence needed to unearth and re-elaborate that unknown material. This book may be the preliminary sketch of a more complete work. It is worthy of being brought to perfection.

Harvard University. GAETANO SALVEMINI.

Electoral Procedure under Louis Philippe. By SHERMAN KENT, Assistant Professor of History in Yale University. [Yale Historical Publications.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 264. $2.50.)

ELECTORAL history is dynamite—instances of fraud or corruption if handled indiscriminately can wreak havoc. Mr. Kent is aware of this fact when he confesses that with the exception of war few subjects produce such misleading evidence (p. 190). Yet in the preceding 189 pages he has found numerous instances of corruption and injustice and with this dynamite has blasted the electoral system of the July Monarchy to bits. There is no disputing his facts; but there is ample room for divergence on the interpretations he has placed on these facts.

This book is not concerned with results—the number of deputies which the various parties of the Right and Left sent to the chamber, the growth or decline of parties over the years, the geographical distribution of political opinion—but, as the title implies, with procedure. The first part—chapters 1 to 6—deals with the nature of the electoral law of 1831, the electorate, the electoral district, registration, the electoral college, and the official candidate. The second part discusses the opposition. The reviewer has looked in vain for any mention of a fair and just election, anything in the electoral machinery which may have been good. The author is consistent in his point of view that whatever existed was unjust. He finds the origin of all injustice in the electoral law of 1831, which defined the electorate as those male citizens over 25 years of age who paid at least 200 francs annually in direct taxes. "Nearly every phrase was characteristic of the thinking of the complacent propertied group which dominated the Revolutionary Chamber" (p. 20). Granted that they were the propertied group, is it fair to damn them as complacent? In the first half of the nineteenth century, and in the United States as well as in France, voting was not a right but a privilege. Men of that period believed that to vote intelligently a man must be educated.

Since universal and free instruction was still a thing of the future, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that education generally did presuppose some kind of wealth. Moreover, sincere liberals such as Casimir Périer, Benjamin Constant, Royer Collard, and Alexis de Tocqueville believed that universal suffrage was incompatible with free institutions. Certainly the facts were on their side. From 1800 to 1814 it had buttressed the dictatorship of Napoleon, and when universal suffrage was restored in 1848 it promptly led to the dictatorship of another Napoleon. Except for a handful of republicans, few questioned the necessity of a property franchise. Among the liberals it was never a point of debate from 1815 until nearly 1848.

Chapter 2 on the electorate is the longest and meatiest of the book. Here Mr. Kent has done painstaking research to determine what social classes paid the 200 franc *cens* and were, therefore, qualified to vote. He has analyzed the tax rolls in detail; the section on the *patent*—a license fee paid by business and professional men—is the best treatment of this subject which the reviewer has seen in English or in any other language. Mr. Kent finds that of the electorate of 200,000 men, probably 164,000 to 180,000 were men of the soil, 6,000 to 10,000 men from industry, 10,000 to 18,000 from commerce, and from 4,000 to 8,000 from the professions. Briefly, the landed gentry dominated the electorate. Here again Mr. Kent's excellent research is weakened by the tendentious nature of his conclusions. He assumes that because the incidence of direct taxation was heavier on land than on business, industry and commerce were grossly underrepresented. Perhaps so, but to a lesser extent than Mr. Kent believes. Reliable figures on the total national wealth produced in France each year during the 1830's are hard to find; but later-day conservative estimates agree that at least three fourths of the national wealth probably came from agriculture. Mr. Kent's own figures on the landed gentry show that this class constituted seven eighths of the electorate. The disparity, then, is not great. Moreover, the various classes—landed gentry, industrialists, professional men—are not so mutually exclusive as the classification implies. My own work on the elections of the Restoration has pointed to the fact that merchant princes and great industrialists owned estates which were frequently larger than those of the old nobility. It was fashionable in 1838 to be one of the landed gentry, just as in 1938 it is fashionable to call oneself a businessman. Allowance must be made for the fact that some of the gentry, as they appeared on the tax rolls, included industralists *et al.* As the analysis proceeds during the course of the chapter, politics and sociology give way to mathematics in the form of long algebraic equations and geometric proportions. The reader sees the electorate as a statistical and abstract mass. What these men thought, how they acted, their emotions, in other words, the electorate as living men—for this the reader must go to the old-fashioned Balzac and the eminently human picture he painted in *Le député d'Arcis.*

With certain notable exceptions, Mr. Kent analyzes the electoral machine from a central rather than a regional point of view. The nestor of French electoral historians, Charles Seignobos, has always maintained that the only true globular picture comes from a minute study of elections, region by region. No one can appreciate this as fully as he who has formed his general conclusions, then analyzed the regions one by one, and seen many of his conclusions disproved or seriously modified. It is to be regretted that Mr. Kent has not used this approach more frequently. To be more specific. The author cites numerous instances in which the cabinet informed its prefects to support this or that candidate. My own research—on the elections of the Restoration to be sure—shows that sometimes the prefects obeyed and sometimes they didn't. If one reads the biographies of the prefects of the period, he realizes that most prefects were interested in two things—holding their jobs and being promoted. Should they support an official candidate whom they thought would be beaten? Should they incur the wrath of the probably victorious deputy whom they were to oppose? Not all prefects were rubber stamps; they were shrewd men and were looking to the morrow. Whereas the archives will show the orders the prefects received, only local and personal histories show how the prefects acted. Their conduct frequently reveals an evasiveness and a latitudinarianism which does credit to the ingenuity of human nature. Again, Mr. Kent believes that if nascent business had had greater representation in the chamber, the course of politics would have been more truly liberal. Perhaps so. But this much can be said: during the Restoration no department with the exception of the Seine had so many voters who were *patentés*—businessmen—as the Bouches-du-Rhône (Marseille the capital). In 1817 nearly one fifth of its electorate paid their *cens* exclusively through the *patent*—a terrifically high proportion. During all of the elections of the Restoration the Bouches-du-Rhône sent more than twenty-five deputies to Paris. Not a single one was classified as liberal. Although this is too extreme to be typical, study of other departments has revealed that the liberal-conservative demarcation is by no means the same as the division between businessmen and landed gentry. At times there is a coincidence, at other times none whatever.

In the closing pages Mr. Kent pays tribute to the republican ideal of universal suffrage, and as the tribute is warm and glowing, one has the feeling that the author is speaking for himself. When all free men can go to the polls, the argument runs, then the problems of society will be solved. To those who believe that universal suffrage is the panacea of all ills, the restricted franchise of the July Monarchy will certainly seem unjust, and Mr. Kent's book will come as the reaffirmation of a faith. But for those who believe that every period must be treated in terms of its own ideals, that the historian must show some sympathetic understanding, that despite

the abuses and even increasing abuses the electoral system of the July Monarchy had some merits, Mr. Kent's exposition will evoke strong dissent.

Council on Foreign Relations. EDGAR PACKARD DEAN.

A Hundred Years of English Government. By K. B. SMELLIE, Lecturer in Public Administration at the London School of Economics. [The Hundred Years Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. 468. $4.50.)

THIS book is in many ways a brilliant performance. Mr. Smellie has tackled the notoriously complicated transition of British governmental institutions from the lethargic oligarchy of 1832 to the sensitive collective structure of today and has put his story into a little over four hundred pages. The result is not superficial, thanks partly to a useful structure but largely to a gift for witty summary. The author has divided the years into three periods (1832-70, 1870-1914, and post-1914), with a separate chapter on the war. Within each period he discusses the principal social and economic problems within their setting of contemporary thought, the course of parliamentary politics, and the creation and operation of administrative machinery. This apparatus sustains the rapid pace of the exposition and justifies a good deal of epigrammatic condensation. Occasionally it involves some carelessness about dates and other arithmetic, some inadvertent omissions, and even some faulty grammar. Some of the swift judgments and provocative antitheses suffer from exaggeration or oversight. It is a question, for instance, whether the Irish-Americans were "the most dangerous enemies England has ever had" (p. 34); whether the English legal system is less intelligible than the American (p. 121); and the justices of the peace are overlooked in the statement that "in 1800 almost all the judicial work of the kingdom was done by fourteen men" (p. 121). Again, it is surprising to find the Bank of England of today described as an "autonomous regulator" (p. 317). The account of cabinet government from 1880 to 1906 is an example of how brevity defeats clarity.

By sustained broad interpretations of his own Mr. Smellie avoids giving the impression of an ingenious mosaic or compendium of the scholarship of others. His sources are interestingly varied, and his use of monographs, British and American, is a good guide to the literature of the subject. Naturally, as a historian, he seems himself to be a gradualist, although he yields to prevailing fashion in giving the gradualist Fabians rather less than their due in the nourishment of twentieth century developments. He is particularly successful in demonstrating how political democracy must be distinguished from social reform and how slowly it had its effects, not only in parliament but in all kinds of other institutional arrangements. He is explicit in defending the old dualism of empire in partnership and empire in trust, if a little unrealistic about the latter. Like many historians, he

is more respectful to economists than they are to each other. His *bêtes noires* are the ever-backward states of education, the law, and the administration of justice.

The central theme is, of course, the extension of state activity, and this is developed better than in any other book of similar scope, not so much in description as in appreciation of the stresses to which the whole apparatus has been subjected, both domestic and foreign. Gladstone does not quite receive his due in civil service reform, but once that movement gets under way, the cumbrous proliferation and gradual consolidation of local and central authorities is defended and described with remarkable clarity. The volume concludes with a thoughtful consideration of the problem as to how the politician, the administrator, and the expert can be balanced in modern government: "If philosophers cannot be kings, despots will come in."

Columbia University. J. B. Brebner.

Charles Kingsley, 1819-1875. By Margaret Farrand Thorp. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 212. $3.00.)

For the preparation of this adequate and scholarly biography the author had access to the Kingsley family papers and to several hitherto unused collections of letters. In the main, however, it is a study of this clergyman, social reformer, poet, and novelist through his published works. Copious quotations, well-woven into a smooth narrative, tell much of the story.

While sympathetic toward her subject, the author succumbs to no temptation to magnify his accomplishments either as a thinker or as a literary artist. In him she finds a typical man of Victorian England, so that the book is a revealing study of the period. Her estimate of Kingsley is summarized at the outset:

> Most of the great literary figures of the nineteenth century were rebels against or thinkers in advance of their time. Kingsley's influence was due in large part to his not being a thinker at all. He suffered all the torments endured by the average man of the period in his struggle with a changing universe; he differed from the average man in the courage with which he faced the problems of the day and the volubility with which he discussed them. He made for himself solutions which were shallow but convincing to hundreds because of their power for comfort and because of the enormous vitality and sincerity behind his presentations. His power in his time and his significance to succeeding generations lies in this, that he was not so much an artist as a fluent English gentleman (pp. 1-2).

In the main this verdict will stand. Certainly the Kingsley intellect proved unequal to conflict with such an adversary as Newman, and no critic ranks him as a literary giant. A longer view, however, would sup-

port claims that Kingsley was something of a thinker in advance of his time and more than a fluent English gentleman. He was a pioneer in social reform, the co-operative movement, and woman suffrage. Few members of his class and profession had enough of the rebel in them to announce publicly, "I am a Church of England parson—and a Chartist." Kingsley and his Christian Socialist colleagues were chiefly responsible for giving a new orientation to the church with the result that it now has its own programs of social reform. Socialist leaders and societies can feel comfortable in its ranks, and before the day of Kingsley this would have been impossible. That this progress since Chartist times was in part due to him is a measure of his courage and influence. Certainly no student of British social history can afford to overlook his work.

The author has been able to identify numerous minor works published anonymously and include them in her bibliography.

Stanford University. CARL F. BRAND.

Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1880. By B. H. SUMNER, Fellow of Balliol College. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 724. $10.00.)

THE eastern crisis of 1875-78 is rapidly becoming one of the most fully studied of the many periods of tension between 1871 and 1914, but this latest addition to the list of recent studies fills a longfelt need, for there has been almost no attempt since the revelations of the postwar years at a synthesis of Russia's policy and her relations with the other great powers in this period. Even though the author has not studied in the Moscow or the Vienna archives, he has had the use of published source material and manuscript transmissions from these and other repositories, has examined the foreign office and British Museum papers at London, and the memoirs, biographies, and important secondary works in all Western European and Slavic languages. His unusually complete grasp of sources and his effort to present the influence of military, economic, and intellectual factors upon Russia's policy make his work a welcome contribution in a field which has hitherto been treated with too little attention to the Slavic sources and with a too exclusive regard to purely political and diplomatic considerations.

On nearly every phase of the subject the author's narrative and interpretation, based as they are on thorough study, sense of perspective, and a nice critical discernment of the men and events of the time, carry conviction. His conclusion that the uprisings in Bosnia and Herzegovina were not in the first instance fomented either by Austrians or by Russian panslavs, though both were quick to take advantage of them, disposes pretty conclusively of the tales of intrigue current in 1875. The lack of unity and singleness of purpose of Russian imperial policy is emphasized by the ex-

cellent descriptions of the crosscurrents and conflicting views that surged around the emperor. Panslavism in the guise of a newly awakened Russian nationalism captured the court for a time, only to subside after Berlin. In the later period fears of revolution within Russia were real but probably exaggerated. Among the men who helped to shape policy, Ignatyev is given due mead of praise and blame without any effort to make either a panslavic hero or an anti-British and anti-Austrian devil of him, while Gorchakov, of secondary importance after April, 1877, remains the pompous old man who had outlived the time when Eastern affairs could be settled among the great powers without regard for the peoples concerned or for the public opinion of Russia and other countries. Among the non-Russian statesmen Andrassy comes off rather better than it has been the tendency of late to regard him, but in his case, as in that of Bismarck, Disraeli, and others, the author, while thoroughly conversant with their policies, has not stepped outside the limits of his subject to pass judgment.

There is not much at which to cavil in this study. One misses any consideration of Russian finances in the latter stages of the crisis, although their weak condition and the pleas for peace on that ground are set forth in connection with the first half of the crisis. Also, there is little discussion of Russia's relations with France in 1876 and 1877, a subject which unsatisfactory references scattered throughout the source material suggest may have played some part in Russia's diplomacy, though undoubtedly a very secondary one. There are still a few obscure incidents such as the exact nature of Manteuffel's mission in 1876, the initiative in the Shuvalov-Derby discussions of peace terms in 1877, the Russian attitude toward Serbia at the Congress of Berlin, and the question of Russian approaches to France in 1879. But these are all minor matters especially when put against the unusually high level of accuracy and generally firm grasp of subject matter. Eight sketch maps and several appendixes of notes on special problems and of documents, some of them printed for the first time in English, together with a critical bibliography, round out the work. It is the best single volume on the period of the Eastern crisis that has appeared to date.

Clark University. DWIGHT E. LEE.

The Development of Dominion Status, 1900-1936. Edited by ROBERT MACGREGOR DAWSON, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Toronto. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 466. $5.00.)

DR. Dawson provides in this volume a careful selection of documents relating to the evolution of the British Commonwealth of Nations during this century and adds a lengthy preface, which is one of the best short accounts of that evolution that has yet appeared. Possibly the viewpoint is more Canadian than is warranted by the title of the book, but after all,

Canada, during most of this period, was the Dominion which took the lead in achieving the new status. The author's occasional suspicion of British policy will be instructive to the reader, for such feelings have been the historic spur to autonomy. Dominion status, as will be clear from this narrative, was not the gift of Englishmen so much as the conquest of colonials.

The story Dr. Dawson has to tell is one of steady decentralization. Save for the short interlude of 1917-19, during which the Imperial War Cabinet functioned like the council of a league of six nations, every advance made by the Dominions has been a retreat from unity. The Commonwealth marriage is becoming increasingly companionate; the sentimental ties may be as strong as iron, but their lightness is growing airier and airier. How much further the process may go Dr. Dawson, perhaps wisely, does not attempt to predict. He notes the fact that with all their formal freedom, "the Dominions are still largely dependent on British diplomacy and in this regard have made but little progress since 1914" (p. 130). The implications of this fact are far-reaching; it is because of this dependence that "Dominion status" is still not a completed evolution. Theory is now far ahead of practice, and the distinction made in the Balfour Declaration of 1926 between "status" and "function" is as important as formerly. The present stage of Commonwealth development, which Dr. Dawson calls the period of "equal status", is a period concerned with bringing Dominion diplomatic practice into line with constitutional theory; it would seem to involve greater Dominion representation abroad, the international acknowledgment of the right to neutrality, and the placing of defense arrangements with Great Britain upon a treaty basis instead of leaving them, as now, in the no-man's-land between voluntary co-operation and military alliance. But all history is a story without a beginning and without an end, and it is perhaps ungracious to ask Dr. Dawson to cover more ground than that which he marked out for his survey.

Within his chosen field of study, however, Dr. Dawson might have done more to relate the development of Dominion status to its world environment. The creation of the League of Nations, with its principles of consultation and arbitration, was a powerful stimulus to Dominion autonomy. In such a world the old British Empire was an anachronism. Self-determination was in the air, and the equality of the Dominions was a particular expression of the wider equality accorded to all small states in the collective system. President Wilson may not have created the new British Commonwealth, but his influence undoubtedly hastened its coming. There is a similar world pressure at the present moment, arising out of the anarchy in Europe, making for new arrangements between the British countries.

McGill University. F. R. Scott.

Politics from Inside: An Epistolary Chronicle, 1906-1914. By Sir Austen Chamberlain. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. 675. $5.00.)

The first third of this book is occupied almost exclusively with an appreciative post mortem on tariff reform, written for the author's father, whom gout had put out of action in the middle of 1906. His faith and Sir Austen's in the sacred cause, "for which Father sacrificed more than life itself", survived overwhelming defeat at the polls. So did their mutual admiration and their mutual interest in the subtle process of maneuvering Balfour and later Bonar Law into line. This is quite understandable. The narrow professionalism displayed in these letters is less so. It seems strange that the minutiae of party politics obscured for the Chamberlains the fact that, under the Liberals, England was beginning a New Deal long overdue and badly needed. What a sheltered life these prewar politicians lived—at least until the coal strike of 1912, when Sir Austen anticipated "rough work" in the shape of serious rioting which the troops were to put down without mercy (p. 463).

The sheltered attitude did not apply in foreign affairs. Here there are no revelations, but we learn that Sir Austen anticipated "a deal of blood-letting" over Morocco in 1911, wished then and later for an alliance with France, and viewed the Haldane mission with alarm (pp. 353, 472, 485).

To meet the German menace Lloyd George had proposed a coalition government in 1910. The terms as reported here (by Balfour) included placing the British navy on a satisfactory footing, conscription, Dominion preference, and an Irish settlement "somewhat on your Father's lines", *i.e.*, national councils. This seemed so favorable that the Unionists could not see how Lloyd George could face his party with such terms. But they were rejected by Balfour, whose "whole history forbade his being a party to any form of Home Rule, though younger men less involved in the controversies of '86 and '93 might be free to contemplate what he could not accept".

In the winter of 1913-14 Bonar Law, Balfour's successor as Unionist leader, secretly discussed with Asquith the possibility of excluding Ulster. Nothing came of it; but it was surely a concession. Chamberlain, who had magnanimously stood aside for Bonar Law despite his weakness, gives one piquant instance of Law's outdoing Disraeli in audacity. In May, 1912, he actually suggested that King George should veto Home Rule. "They may say, he told the King, that your assent is a purely formal act and the prerogative of veto is dead. That was true as long as there was a buffer between you and the House of Commons, but they have destroyed the buffer and it is no longer true" (p. 487).

The buffer was of course the lords' veto, destroyed by the Parliament Act of 1911. On this act, on the budget of 1909, and on other controversial matters these letters throw light. They are, of course, one-sided, though

not ungenerous or unfair—incisive at times, vivid usually, and extremely interesting when the matter in them allows it. But they do not add to the stature of the friends and foes whom they criticize very candidly. They do not add to the stature of Sir Austen Chamberlain himself.

Willamette University. R. I. Lovell.

The Kaiser on Trial. By George Sylvester Viereck. (New York: Greystone Press. 1937. Pp. xx, 514. $3.50.)

This book, to which former Ambassador Gerard contributes a very reserved introduction, is much better than those who knew the author chiefly as an ardent pro-German propagandist during the World War could have expected. To be sure it contributes nothing to our knowledge of the war guilt question. The real value of the book, which is considerable, lies solely in its sympathetic and often penetrating analysis of the personality of the ex-kaiser, whom the author knows personally and from whom he is often able to quote directly.

The thesis is, in brief, that Wilhelm has been made a scapegoat for the blunders of his associates and subordinates. He had a bad start, as a snubbed and bullied youth, handed on from the tutelage of the severe pedant Hinzpeter to that of the domineering egotist Bismarck. With Bismarck's resignation, the young ruler looked in vain for an adequate servant in foreign affairs. "For twenty-eight years Bismarck had alienated all able and vigorous men from public life." Mr. Viereck lays the blunders of the Kruger telegram, the Moroccan affair, and the *Daily Telegraph* incident entirely to the kaiser's yielding, often most reluctantly, to the pressure of his advisers. On the other hand, he claims that the Björkö treaty was a masterpiece of statesmanship, due entirely to the kaiser's initiative and frustrated only by Bülow's jealousy and the czar's weakness. If the kaiser had been more of an autocrat than he was and had not so frequently followed the policies which incompetent officials marked out for him, he would, in the author's opinion, have bulked more grandly in history.

Many wise remarks clear up certain aspects of the kaiser's character; for Mr. Viereck, while always insistent on Wilhelm's good intentions and his native ability, concedes certain weaknesses of personality. He "resented the fact that his mother remained an Englishwoman. By a curious paradox he transferred to England both his hate and his love for his mother. . . . Here is the explanation of apparent inconsistencies in his diplomacy" (p. 51). Again, with reference to the ruler's loquacity and his frequent indiscretions of speech: "Disfigured and transformed in the press, remarks that were perfectly innocuous in private conversation, seemed monstrous indiscretions. To efface the impression thus made, the kaiser was compelled to burst into speech again. The result was a vicious circle of misunderstanding and misrepresentation" (p. 166).

How far Mr. Viereck has succeeded in clearing up the kaiser's reputation each reader is invited by the author (and the reviewer) to decide for himself. That the kaiser did not deliberately engineer a general European war in 1914 now seems to be admitted by almost all students. That his many blunders contributed to bringing on that war it seems impossible to deny; even Mr. Viereck offers only the plea in extenuation that they were blunders due to bad advice given by others. In one respect the author hardly seems to realize how dangerous a concession he has made. Wilhelm's hatred of democracy and his reliance on the "purple international" of divine right monarchs seems to the author quite the right thing, and he regrets only that the other rulers of Europe were incapable of understanding the principles of royalism as Wilhelm understood them. To most Americans this will seem to be a point for the prosecution rather than for the defense.

The University of Michigan. PRESTON SLOSSON.

Die kleinen Staaten Europas und die Entstehung des Weltkrieges. Von PAUL HERRE. (Munich: C. H. Beck. 1937. Pp. x, 517. 7.90 M.)

RESTRICTING himself chiefly to the two decades before 1914, Professor Herre sets himself the task of discovering "how far and in which way the small states were the objects of the policy of the great powers and to what degree they were able to use or even to influence the high policy of the European cabinets". Throughout he centers his attention on the small state. His account of the Morocco crises, for example, does not revolve around Franco-German relations but rather deals with how these issues affected Spain. Such treatment presupposes a thorough knowledge of prewar diplomatic history, which most of the readers of this book will no doubt possess.

In spite of the flood of documents which have appeared covering the period before the war it is surprising how few really pertain to the smaller states. Documents concerning them were often omitted from the great document collections because interest centered on other matters and other regions. There are few published sources that stem from the small states themselves. Time and again the author is driven to state that this detail or that still awaits clarification.

In general Herre deals with his material by countries, grouping them according to geographical location. Beginning with the Iberian states, he stresses King Alphonso's preference for the Western powers. It was largely through English efforts, however, that Spain was kept in the Entente circle in spite of many differences with France over Morocco. The English alliance and the problem of the African colonies focus the discussion of Portugal. The fear of Russia in Sweden, the special friendship of Norway and Denmark for England, the "correct" attitude of Denmark to Germany

because of her geographical situation, the different prewar discussions in regard to the status of the Baltic straits in time of war outline the situation in the Scandinavian countries. That the Entente seriously considered landing troops in Norway and Sweden in 1915 and 1916 as a means of forcing an entrance into the Baltic is indicated, although the necessary documentary evidence to clarify this episode is still lacking. In the section devoted to the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Switzerland, Belgium naturally receives the most attention. The argument is advanced that, although no signed written agreements existed, Belgium by her military conversations and promises to the Entente had undertaken obligations which were inconsistent with her position as a neutralized state. On the other hand, Germany's political leadership is criticized for accepting so blandly and without protest the plan of the general staff to march through Belgium, thus incurring the onus of being the first to violate Belgian neutrality. Although the revised French mobilization plans of 1913, which arranged for concentration of some army corps on the Belgian border, are underlined, Herre commends the wisdom and stresses the care with which English and French political circles avoided violating the territorial neutrality of Belgium. He also states definitely that there were no French troops on Belgian soil until the Brussels government officially called upon England and France for aid on the afternoon of August 4. In the section on the Balkans, instead of discussing each country separately Herre deals with the different Balkan crises of the prewar decade. In the final chapter, on the World War, he outlines briefly the entrance of Bulgaria, Rumania, and Greece into that conflict and summarizes the gains made by all the various small states.

No general conclusion as to the significance of the small states in prewar history is drawn. Their influence varied, depending on whether they were bent on an active or passive policy, on their geographic position, their racial compexity, etc. The alliance systems, however, became so finely balanced that the small states grew in importance. On the whole, England wielded the greatest influence among them, in part because of her democratic tradition. The peace settlement, which sought to provide absolute equality between large and small states, was, in Herre's opinion, unfortunate. In the end it is a concert of great powers which will govern Europe in the future as in the past.

In a book of such merit and one which draws together so many loose ends it is perhaps carping to note differences of judgment or minor errors. To consider Italy's relation to the Serbo-Bulgarian treaties of 1904 as on the same plane with Russia's sponsorship of the Balkan League of 1912 is unwarranted. Even the treaty of 1904 visualized the czar of Russia and not the king of Italy as arbiter, if differences arose, and certainly Russia

was not opposed to the treaty. Contrary to Herre, there was a written treaty between Serbia and Montenegro before the Balkan wars, while the text of a written military convention between Bulgaria and Montenegro—if such a formal agreement ever existed—is still to be discovered. Herre also gives more credence to the existence of formal agreements between Rumania, Greece, and Serbia after the Treaty of Bucharest than the reviewer believes is justified.

Bowdoin College. E. C. HELMREICH.

At the Paris Peace Conference. By JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Professor of History, Columbia University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. x, 444. $4.00.)

IT is not without significance that the most extensive and authoritative information about the Peace Conference of 1919 derives from American sources. The published papers of President Wilson (Baker) and Colonel House (Seymour), the two books by Robert Lansing, and the biographies of Henry White (Nevins) and General Bliss (Palmer) tell the story from the point of view of each of the American commissioners. Perhaps even more important is the *Diary* of David Hunter Miller, with its rich mine of documents. Now comes Professor Shotwell, like Mr. Miller one of the experts attached to the commission, with his diary and some more documents. By comparison, British, French, and Italian contributions, with the exception of André Tardieu's book and possibly Harold Nicolson's, have been of small consequence, as if the European makers of the treaties have felt it futile to defend their handiwork. For this reason Mr. Lloyd George's memoirs of the Peace Conference, now in preparation, will be read with peculiar interest.

Mr. Shotwell's book is the American counterpart of Nicolson's *Peacemaking,* for in spite of certain differences between a professional historian and a professional diplomatist, both went to Paris thoroughly imbued with the Fourteen Points and the Wilsonian idealism; both kept diaries in which they recorded their gradual disillusionment, and, years later, both have tried to explain to themselves and to the world why the dreams of 1918 were not realized in the treaties of 1919. Each has also elected to print the explanation as the first and the diary as the second part of his book, as if he feels on the defensive. There is no indication that the two men met at Paris, and the details of their experiences were very different, but they give much the same picture of drift and submission to circumstances which produced treaties far removed from what enlightened British and American opinion had expected.

It was as head of the division of history in the Inquiry organized by Colonel House that Mr. Shotwell went to Paris; on arrival, he was placed

in charge of the library. For a time he seems to have acted as physician in ordinary to a sick world, being consulted on matters as varied as Spitzbergen and Manchuria, Dalmatia and Syria, not to mention African mandates and the Covenant of the League! In the end he found himself—apparently in no small degree because no one else was interested—doing what he most wished to do, namely, helping to draft Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, the section devoted to labor. This story he has already told in *The Origins of the International Labor Organization* (1934); here it is important only to point out that some of his most effective work was done without proper official authorization, and he had to negotiate on matters of high politics in the capacity of "technical expert".

This experience of Mr. Shotwell, though an index of the high value placed on his judgment, reveals, as he himself points out, a fundamental weakness of the conference, or at any rate of the American delegation. The Department of State did not take kindly to the Inquiry, and it was not until towards the end that Lansing could see any merit in it. On the voyage over on the *George Washington,* President Wilson, as is well known, appealed to his experts to tell him what was right, so that he could fight for it. Yet no effort was ever made to co-ordinate the work of the Inquiry with the progress of the negotiations. True, a "Black Book" and a "Red Book" were prepared which contained summaries of the Inquiry's recommendations, but there was never anything like the teamwork which prevailed in the British delegation. No meeting of the Inquiry was held until May 15, and it was not until June 3 that President Wilson held a conference with his experts as a whole to discuss possible modifications in the draft treaty handed to the Germans nearly a month before. Meanwhile, by force of circumstances, experts had become negotiators, and assuredly much can be said for what they accomplished. But because of the supposed necessity of secrecy, each group worked by itself and knew little of what was going on in other groups. Mr. Shotwell was evidently better informed than most persons, but as late as April 8 he and his intimates were very despondent because "we do not know what is being done" (p. 253). The result was that while any one section of the treaty might be defended, the sum total of sacrifices demanded from Germany was intolerable. Another unfortunate result, peculiar to the American delegation, was that the experts disagreed on the matter of Fiume and presented rival schemes to Wilson; this, in Mr. Shotwell's opinion, had much to do with the breach between the President and Colonel House.

According to Mr. Shotwell (p. 31), President Wilson did not originally intend to impose terms of peace on Germany; the plan was for the Allied and Associated Powers to reach an agreement among themselves on fundamentals and then negotiate with their enemies. But once a draft treaty had

been put together by the methods actually followed, changes became difficult, and the Germans played into the hands of those who did not wish them well. Everyone was much *froissé* by the deliberate rudeness of Brockdorff-Rantzau on receiving the treaty, and the German delegation then made the grievous error of attacking almost every article of the treaty, instead of concentrating on a few issues. Like the Allies, they handed over the treaty in sections to experts, each of whom tore his bit to pieces, and the chiefs could not see the wood for the trees. Thus those in the British and American delegations who wished for a more liberal settlement received no assistance from those whom they wished to help. Nevertheless, when all is said, it has to be admitted, with Mr. Shotwell, that "the supreme attribute of statesmanship, magnanimity", was lacking at Paris (p. 51), even in Wilson himself, who "accepted retribution for ill-doing as part of the moral order of the world, and believed that it applied to nations as well as to individuals". For this reason, it is wrong to blame Lloyd George and Clemenceau exclusively for the ill-starred treaties. Mr. Shotwell notes that the Fourteen Points themselves could not be carried out without creating grievances and that some of the most criticized features of the settlement were precisely those recommended to Wilson by his experts.

The historian of the Peace Conference will find innumerable details of interest in this volume, while the lay reader will enjoy the descriptions of Paris and the battlefields in the winter of 1919. Some of the close-ups of the Big Four and other personalities are highly entertaining. Altogether, this is a notable book which, if it fails to explain many mysteries, throws much light in dark corners; perhaps a cynic would suggest as a subtitle, "How not to run a Peace Conference".

The University of Chicago. BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs. Volume I, *Problems of Nationality, 1918-1936.* By W. K. HANCOCK, Professor of History in the University of Birmingham, with a supplementary legal chapter by R. T. E. LATHAM. [The Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 673. $8.50.)

THE Royal Institute of International Affairs has performed a genuine service in assisting to completion this volume on the problems of nationality, which is the first of a survey of British Commonwealth affairs. Professor Hancock, who has written it, is uniquely qualified to interpret the psychological and historical aspects of imperial problems. He is an Australian who had a brilliant career leading to a fellowship at All Souls College, Oxford, and has since lectured both in England and Australia in various universities.

The book fills a very longfelt gap by bringing up to date the general accounts of the relations between the members of the British Common-

wealth of Nations and by indicating the effects of the new status on nationality and nationalism within the Dominions. The supplementary chapter by R. T. E. Latham, also an Australian and a fellow of All Souls, "The Law and the Commonwealth", covers satisfactorily, with less of the legal jargon than is used by Professor Keith, some of the problems of the present time. It closes with an appendix that treats the constitutional and legal problems created by the abdication of King Edward VIII.

No work of this sort can, of course, satisfy the demands of readers so various as those at which it is aimed. From the point of view of the lawyers the legal problems are somewhat summarily treated, and the distinctions between constitutional and purely legal questions are often not clearly drawn. But in its breadth of sweep, in its historical interpretations, and in its special treatment of the problems of the separate Dominions, particularly of those of the Irish Free State, it is extremely good. The arrangement is somewhat uneven in that the role of Canada, and indeed of South Africa, is often not adequately portrayed in comparison with that of the Irish Free State. Curiously enough, Australia itself figures in terms of little enough importance.

Perhaps the subsequent volumes will remedy this emphasis, but to the detached observer the first volume taken alone has an entirely disproportionate emphasis. Problems of India and race equality and even the problems of colonial government in areas like the Sudan and Palestine are given too extensive treatment. Moreover, there seems to be too little logic of organization, and it is difficult to find a single thread which gives unity to the volume. Nevertheless the book as a whole is a distinctly worthwhile contribution, and it will be invaluable to students of the British Commonwealth who wish to understand the underlying forces that are not always discernible in public documents or in legal opinions.

It is astonishing, though, in the treatment of diplomatic aspects of that empire as they affect the problems of nationality under consideration, that Professor Hancock should have devoted so little attention to the conflicts that seem to be inevitable between the "have" and "have-not" states and should have paid what seems to me to be undue emphasis to the ideological conflict of the British Empire with Russian communism. But this, after all, is not the volume in which one must look for the development of these relations, and a quite different emphasis may be expected in the later treatment. This book must be taken in conjunction with the fuller treatment to be found in *The British Empire: A Report on its Structure and Problems by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* (Oxford University Press, 1937). Taken in this context it is a most valuable and interesting contribution.

Harvard University. W. Y. Elliott.

FAR EASTERN HISTORY

China: A Short Cultural History. By C. P. Fitzgerald. Edited by Professor C. G. Seligman. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. Pp. xviii, 615. $7.50.)

The difference between this work and most general histories of China is clearly indicated by Mr. Fitzgerald in his preface. He seeks a balanced presentation of China's history, avoiding overemphasis on the nineteenth century or on early history. He endeavors to present his history as a "record of change and development, the transformation of a loose federation of agricultural tribes into a highly centralised autocratic empire". He tries to replace the conventional political history by a description of China's cultural conditions, religion, literature, and art; and he uses Chinese sources wherever possible "to indicate something of the economic background which, in part at least, determines the pattern of a culture". Special attention is paid to the neglected early contacts with the Roman Orient and the Middle East (p. v).

On the whole, Mr. Fitzgerald has been measurably successful in four of his five objectives. The arrangement of his material according to the periods of development is plausible and well balanced. The author's conception of development penetrates every epoch treated in the book. It gives this cultural history a thoroughly dynamic character because it presents the changes in religion, philosophy, literature, and art as part of an underlying general movement. A general history of China limited to six hundred pages cannot go into great detail, but the events described—and they are numerous and manifold—are presented with vigor, insight, and in a genuinely scientific manner. The treatment of China's early contacts with Central Asia and the West are of special value. Recent investigation makes it clear beyond doubt that China was much better informed about the West during the first millennium A.D. than vice versa.

The errors of the book, apart from technical lapses like the misprinted figures on page 402, fall largely in the field of sociology and economics. No space is given to Wang Mang's attempted economic and political reforms. The Grand Canal and the first establishment of the system of examinations, the achievements of the Sui dynasty, pass unnoticed. No word is said about the second Grand Canal (under the Mongols), perhaps because Fitzgerald overestimates the barbarian aspect of the Yüan dynasty. The changes in the land system and taxation are not analyzed, nor do we get a clear idea of the structure of China's classes under the "Empire". The fundamental weakness of the book lies here. There are chapters on socio-economic conditions in almost every section, but the author's conception of economy is vague, and the data given are thin and scarcely repre-

sentative. No real picture is offered of the character of China's basic production, agriculture. The economic and political functions of artificial irrigation are touched upon only occasionally. The specific character of Chinese absolutism remains undefined. The social stratification seems arbitrary. Political philosophy, especially that of Confucius, is not analyzed adequately.

In a pioneer work like this, limitations should not be overemphasized. Both the author and the editor are to be congratulated on their attempt to get away from a type of history in which history actually remains a meager by-product of philology. In this book history is treated as a science to be dealt with according to its specific laws. Its weaknesses indicate the lines along which further attempts toward a scientific history of China will have to develop.

International Institute of Social Research. K. A. WITTFOGEL.

Early Japanese History, c. 40 B. C.-A. D. 1167. By ROBERT KARL REISCHAUER, Lecturer in the School of Public and International Affairs and Instructor in the Department of Oriental Languages and Literature, Princeton University. [School of Public and International Affairs.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1937. Part A, pp. xiii, 405; Part B, pp. 249. $7.50.)

THE book under review, despite its title, is not a history but a sort of dictionary presenting a wide range of subject matters—historical, geographical, linguistic, etc.—covering more than twelve hundred years. It is an ambitious undertaking. The author explains that the work was compiled "for those who do not read Japanese fluently and yet who are sufficiently interested in the history of Japan to desire fairly detailed information that can be obtained at present only from Japanese sources" (p. vii). In order "to assist those who do not have a thorough knowledge of the fundamental political and social forces operating in Japan during the early ages of Japanese history, and who are but slightly acquainted with the economic and cultural changes that took place in those centuries to make the best use of the chronology of events", the author has discussed "the most important movements in each age, era, and period treated in this first volume" and has mentioned "some of the problems involved in a study of these chronological divisions of Japanese history" (p. 4).

Part A begins with a bare chronological outline of the period embraced in the work, followed by a chronological list of era names, sovereigns, and high officials, and diagrams and tables relating to the organization of the central government (592-1167). All these are packed into about one hundred pages, while the remaining space is devoted to a chronicle of events, the author's main subject. Part B contains a bibliography, a discussion of the Romanization of Japanese words, the author's own translation of Japanese historical terms, a number of outline maps, genealogical charts of important families and of Buddhist priests by sects, and an index of Chinese

characters used in connection with Japanese names. The major portion of this part is given to an alphabetical index and a glossary.

The work is a laborious enterprise of a scholar whose recent untimely death we lament, and it should prove helpful to those for whose benefit it was specially designed. However, the author did not escape some of the usual defects of a pioneer attempt; this is particularly true as regards the subjects which he does not consider of primary importance, but which he nevertheless treats in quite a positive manner. Some of his translations are questionable. The maps are not very satisfactory. The writing of characters is amateurish, and, while actual errors are not many, most of them are poorly formed and very difficult to read. The use of type would have eradicated these faults and would have economized much needed space for the entire printing. The make-up of Part B is very hard on the eyes.

Stanford University. YAMATO ICHIHASHI.

The Cambridge History of India. Volume IV, *The Mughul Period.* Planned by Lt.-Colonel Sir WOLSELEY HAIG. Edited by Sir RICHARD BURN. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xxvi, 670. $12.00.)

THIS volume deals with one of the most brilliant epochs of Indian history. Few dynasties of foreign origin have achieved so much in the land of their domicile as the Mughuls did in India, and there have been few more fascinating figures in all history than the founder of their empire, Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babur, a Turko-Mongolian adventurer descended from the famous Timur Lang and Chingiz Khan. The career of this accomplished soldier of fortune, who inherited a crown of thorns from his father at the age of twelve and died thirty-five years later, after having converted it into an imperial crown of gold, might thrill even a modern audience if it were reproduced on the screen. His autobiography, translated into English by Mrs. Beveridge from the original Turki, reads like a romance which, for all its historical veracity, seems stranger than fiction. Sir E. Denison Ross deals with this subject in the opening chapter of the book under review, forgetting neither the dramatic quality of his theme nor the rigid requirements of *The Cambridge History*.

Like the rest of the series, the present volume is the product of the collaboration of several scholars. Its editor, Sir Richard Burn, contributes three lucid chapters on Humayun, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, respectively. While Babur and all his other successors down to Aurangzib have been the subjects of special study by more than one scholar, Humayun has suffered the distinction of being let alone. Erskine's work, though valuable in itself, has long needed replacement by a more up-to-date study. Humayun has suffered from more than mere neglect; he has been wronged, like most other failures in life, by facile condemnation. Yet from a biographical point

of view his career is full of a tender interest, and from the historical point of view we cannot forget that it was his persistence, under the most trying circumstances, that rendered the restoration of the empire possible. Sir Richard is more correct in his estimate of Jahangir, "whose temperament was artistic rather than practical and in whom generosity degenerated into self-indulgence". Efficiency and grandeur were the keynote of the next reign, and Shah Jahan has received all the critical appreciation he deserved. The late Dr. Vincent Smith did more injustice to his own scholarship than harm to the just reputation of Shah Jahan by his intemperate criticism of the creator of the Taj Mahal. In the opinion of Sir Richard Burn, under Shah Jahan "state revenues increased, in spite of the disastrous famine of 1630, owing to better supervision over officials and greater security of life" (p. 218). The Mughul reputation for art and refinement has survived to this day and spread over the whole world because of the masterpieces of Shah Jahan's reign, and this meets with adequate recognition in the present volume.

No less than six chapters, out of the eighteen, are from the pen of the late Sir Wolseley Haig, who had originally planned this volume. Readers of Volume III (*Turks and Afghans*) will not question the erudition of its editor and part-author. But few will recollect having read that volume (published ten years ago) with anything like keen interest, except for some purple patches. Concentrating for the most part on the military events and following an essentially chronological sequence in his narrative, Sir Wolseley has not succeeded in imparting to his chapters the charm of the rest of the work. Though his appreciation of Sher Shah's administrative genius is fair, so far as it goes, it scarcely seems adequate in illustration. His two chapters on Akbar do scant justice to their great subject, despite the encomium with which they close (pp. 154-55).

Aurangzib ruled for half a century, like Akbar, but no sharper contrast is to be found in Indian history than that between these two emperors in character, outlook, and policy. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has contributed the two chapters on Aurangzib and two others, on his immediate successors and on Nizam-ul-Mulk, respectively. He writes with the clarity and confidence that come from long familiarity with, and mastery of, his subject. No one is qualified to speak with greater authority on this portion of Mughul history than the author of the five weighty volumes on Aurangzib, the two on the later Mughuls, and the two on the fall of the Mughul Empire, besides others on allied subjects. On one of the most complicated and intriguing of historical periods, "the Gibbon of India" has written with impressive judgment, sense of proportion, and perspicacity.

The remaining chapters must be rapidly characterized, though with no intention of being invidious. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson brings out the bearing of contemporary Maratha history without partisan bias, and Mr. G. E.

Harvey deals with Burma. Without questioning the merits of Mr. Harvey's handling of his theme, one may be permitted to doubt the relevance of his contribution, with the exception of the section on Arakanese and Portuguese piracy, in an otherwise homogeneous volume on the Mughul period. Mr. W. H. Moreland describes the revenue system of the Mughul Empire with scholarship and scientific care in a too brief chapter. The volume appropriately closes with a very interesting chapter on the monuments of the Mughul period, appreciatively written by Mr. Percy Brown.

It is not possible to touch here on all points that a close reading of the volume has suggested, but I cannot refrain from pointing out that much valuable space which might have been better devoted to the administrative organization, social and economic conditions, ideals, policies, and culture of the Mughuls, whose rich legacy has gone into the making of modern India, has been wasted on a somewhat prosaic narrative of military events. Nevertheless, judging the work as a whole, more in terms of what it contains than of what it omits, this volume presents the fruits of critical research hitherto available only in isolated studies. It also contains a helpful classified bibliography covering twenty-two pages, ninety-eight well-selected illustrations, half-a-dozen maps, dynastic lists, and chronological tables. It is an indispensable work, long overdue.

Willingdon College, Sangli, India. S. R. Sharma.

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800. By Henry R. Wagner. Two volumes. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 270; v, 271-543. $20.00.)

For a reviewer who is not a cartographer or a geographer to attempt a technical criticism of Mr. Wagner's work would invite quotation of a remark about a colonial secretary during the fisheries discussions of 1852, when Disraeli wrote that Sir John Pakington was "out of his depth, more than three marine miles from the shore". However, the historian is not interested in ancient maps qua maps but rather in what may be called the relativity of such maps to events. Many writers have pointed out that limited or erroneous geographic knowledge at a given time and geographic ignorance of particular statesmen have had international repercussions of importance. It is also true and sometimes forgotten that those concerned with diplomacy cannot always be expected to wait for the work of explorers and cartographers.

Mr. Wagner's work is of value to historians and students interested in the eastern shores of the north Pacific, for "Northwest Coast" is to be taken in a rather large sense, beginning at Cape San Lucas and extending indefinitely north. Those who have perused the earlier publications of this

author will not fail to profit by this complement to them; and the reader is rightly enjoined (p. vi) to consult them "in order to obtain a complete picture . . . of the historical and bibliographical background".

In the first of these two volumes, apart from the introduction and the conclusion, we have some thirty-nine chapters on cartography and explorations illuminated by admirable reproductions of forty maps of the three centuries. Two chapters are devoted to imaginary geography in the sixteenth century; but even about 1700 most maps showed California as an island (ch. XVIII); and the controversy over the Delisle-Buache Fantasy (ch. XXII) was active after 1750; it is well said (p. 3) that "nothing has such an air of verisimilitude as a map". There are chapters on the English expeditions, ending with Vancouver, on the Russian discoveries, and on the voyage of La Pérouse; but the Spanish explorations and their results naturally bulk the largest and perhaps to American historians will be found of most interest.

In chapter XXXIII we get some further light on Nootka, supplementing Dr. Manning's monograph, to which Mr. Wagner pays a just tribute (p. 218). On one point the author differs (rightly, the reviewer thinks) from Dr. Manning, namely, in believing that the Spanish government in 1789 was more concerned with British than with Russian possibilities at Nootka Sound (p. 215); but the conclusion (pp. 251-52) that the result of the Nootka Convention (presumably the conventions of 1790 and 1794 read together) was that the territory south of Juan de Fuca Strait "was considered subject to the Spanish Government" goes too far. This was arguable after the 1794 convention; but Vancouver made no such admission in 1792, nor did the British government thereafter. Indeed one basis of the British position during the later diplomatic discussions concerning the Oregon country was the 1790 convention, then deemed by the British government to be in force but by the government of the United States to have been ended by the war of 1796; and consideration generally was not possible, since the 1794 convention was not published until 1843 and was unknown in the United States even in 1846, when the Nootka controversy passed finally from politics to history.

From a multitude of passages of interest one may be selected for mention as specially apropos at this time. Mr. Wagner is convinced (pp. 376-77 and 384-85) that the indentation now called Drake's Bay on the California coast was not necessarily the place where Sir Francis Drake landed and took possession and that Bodega Bay was probably the scene of this historic event.

The apparatus of this scholarly and comprehensive publication is worthy. For Volume I there is an excellent index; Volume II includes, apart from introduction, abbreviations, and bibliography, the annotated list of some nine hundred maps, with index (pp. 273-370), and two lists of place names:

these last, with learned comment, will be found useful to a degree almost beyond overstatement; the first of them is of names still in use (pp. 371-422), the second (pp. 423-525) of names now obsolete.

Washington, D. C. HUNTER MILLER.

A History of Printing in the United States: The Story of the Introduction of the Press and of its History and Influence during the Pioneer Period in each State of the Union. By DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE. Volume II, *Middle & South Atlantic States.* (New York: R. R. Bowker Company. 1936. Pp. xxvi, 462. $6.00.)

Printing in the Americas. By JOHN CLYDE OSWALD. (New York: Gregg Publishing Company. 1937. Pp. xii, 565, xli. $7.50.)

MR. MCMURTRIE, like earlier historians of printing in the United States, is a practical printer, and he has a thorough knowledge of the source materials for his historical studies. As a by-product of his great work, he has already published over two hundred monographs on various phases of the history of printing, including regional bibliographies of many cities and states in which his work has covered hitherto untouched material. As consultant to the national director of the Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration, he is in direct charge of the important American Imprints Inventory, which aims to describe and locate every American imprint down to the year 1876. This material is already sufficiently in hand to provide a great amount of source material for the history on which he has been at work for many years.

With this great fact-finding organization back of him, Mr. McMurtrie plans to issue, in four volumes, a history of the beginnings of printing in each state of the union. Since there has been no such history since Isaiah Thomas's, much of the later material will be recorded for the first time, especially that in the West and South. Volume II, covering the Middle and South Atlantic states, was the first to be published. This will be followed late in 1938 by Volume III, including the Middle West, the Northern Migration, and the Gulf States. In 1939 the last two volumes will probably be finished, Volume I covering the New England states, with a general introduction, and Volume IV the Far West, with an index to the whole set.

This second volume of Mr. McMurtrie's history deals with Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, New Jersey, Delaware, District of Columbia, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. In each state or section of a state he first sketches in the historical background and then gives the fullest possible account of the first printer. This is followed by a complete history of each succeeding press established during the pioneer period, with briefer mention of the succeeding presses which came too late for fuller treatment.

Though much has been published on the history of Pennsylvania printing, this work is the first to cover it completely in a single volume. The

chapter on Benjamin Franklin is particularly well done, and the presses outside of Philadelphia are adequately covered for the first time. The chapter on Maryland was taken, by permission, from Dr. Lawrence Wroth's excellent history of colonial printing in that state, since little could be added to his important discoveries in that field. In the same way, there was nothing of importance to add to the history of printing in New York City, though Mr. McMurtrie has been the first to put the findings of many investigators into compact form. But in his treatment of eastern New York State the author found much new material and was the first to tell the story as a whole.

The chapters on New Jersey and Delaware are also summaries of many separate studies which had never before been welded into a unit, but the chapter on the District of Columbia is largely new material. Mr. McMurtrie's most important contributions to this volume, however, are in his treatment of the states of North and South Carolina and Georgia, in which most of his records were previously unpublished. He has discovered many new documents through which he has frequently pushed back for a year or more the date of the introduction of printing into a given city or colony.

Each chapter has a full bibliography and voluminous footnotes, which are placed at the end of the volume and occupy sixty pages. The volume is beautifully printed and bound and is enriched by the reproduction of seventy-one rare newspapers, title pages, and broadsides and an end-paper map showing the date of the introduction of printing into each of the states.

The late John Clyde Oswald's *Printing in the Americas* attempts to do too much in a single volume. Its ninety-one chapters, some of them only half a page in length, relate to every state in the union, Canada, Spanish America, Greenland, and Hawaii and include sketches of famous printers and printing families, women printers, the equipment of the colonial printshop, modern bookmaking, printing machinery, and trade organizations. Though the volume contains a mass of valuable information, it is an encyclopedia rather than a historical narrative and almost wholly avoids giving the printer his rightful place in the social history of his times. It is poorly organized, appears to have been written entirely from secondary sources, and obviously suffers from having had many of its chapters hurriedly compiled for publication in a popular series of articles in its author's magazine, *The American Printer*. Though much of the text is accurate, there are many errors in names and facts. In the brief account of Isaiah Thomas, for example, there are five mistakes. The absence of bibliography and notes leaves the reader uneasy as to the author's sources. There is, however, a good index and 160 facsimiles of rare titles, some in two colors. It is a useful and handy volume of printing data, but it can scarcely be called a history, and its facts must be used with caution.

The American Antiquarian Society. R. W. G. Vail.

Of the Earth Earthy: How Our Fathers dwelt upon and wooed the Earth. By MARIAN NICHOLL RAWSON. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1937. Pp. 414. $5.00.)

Everyday Things in American Life, 1607-1776. By WILLIAM CHAUNCY LANGDON. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1937. Pp. xx, 353. $3.00.)

IT is a far cry from the conception of history as past politics to that exemplified in these two volumes. In them the matters of everyday life receive deserved recognition.

Mrs. Rawson's work, in this volume and the many preceding, bespeaks years of traveling up and down the Atlantic seaboard, talking with handicraft workers, inspecting old iron furnaces, etc., and engaging in what is interestingly known as "junk snupping". All this inspires confidence. The author has caught the atmosphere of the industries, but the text is frequently jumpy and sometimes weak in the detailed descriptions.

For the most part the industries selected are those in which the craftsmen deal closely with nature, are "of the earth earthy". The author confines herself almost entirely to the eastern seaboard, but she ranges over three centuries. One can question but little the subjects included, but he may properly ask for coal mining, lumbering, turpentine distilling, and the distinctive home industry of textile making (about which the author has written so well before). He looks in vain for butchering or the grinding of grain. Mrs. Rawson makes no pretense of writing a comprehensive work on early industry, but one may regret some omissions.

The author implies that 1100 B.C. is early in the history of the plow, whereas plows were in use in Babylonia and Egypt before 2500 B.C. The Dutch contributed much toward the development of the plow, but where is the evidence that they turned the first furrow? She mentions Jethro Wood's plow of 1814, about which little is known, but omits reference to that of 1819, on which his fame as an inventor rests. She confuses smelting with melting. Yet withal we are glad she wrote the book.

Mr. Langdon's volume has a different air. It is a more systematic treatment than that of Mrs. Rawson and at first glance gives the appearance of adequacy. Closer examination, however, reveals serious gaps. What was more "everyday" before 1776 than spinning and weaving? Yet these are scarcely mentioned in the text, although the implements are well illustrated. The axe is declared to have been essential, but there the matter rests. Houses and furniture are adequately covered, but one might conclude that like Topsy they "just growed". Tools and construction are left out. In another field the grist mill is merely mentioned and the grater and mortar overlooked entirely.

The chapters on "Dutch New York" and "Penn's Quaker City" are good in themselves, but they contribute little to the professed purpose. On

the other hand, the chapters on Ephrata and Bethlehem are excellent. It is well to describe the provincial post and would be even better to tell of early printing, but on what pretext can one drag in Peter Zenger and the freedom of the press? The exceptions to the statement, "Iron can no longer compete with steel for any purpose", must be quite obvious. Furthermore the improvements in steel are related to the science of metallurgy and not to mining engineering.

The bibliography by chapters will identify, to the satisfaction of most readers, the sources used. The volume is well illustrated, and the pen and ink drawings are commendable. The format is good and the style pleasing, but in most other respects the work suffers by comparison with the Quennell volumes on England, after which it is professedly patterned.

Museum of Science and Industry, Chicago. RUSSELL H. ANDERSON.

Government in the United States. By CLAUDIUS O. JOHNSON, Professor of Political Science in the State College of Washington. Revised Edition. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1937. Pp. xii, 735. $4.00.)

American Government and Its Problems. By ROBERT PHILLIPS, Professor of Government at Purdue University. Under the editorship of Edward M. Sait, Pomona College. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1937. Pp. xv, 813. $3.50.)

THE bachelor who wails at the difficulty of finding a girl who is both attractive and intelligent would find a comparable lack of the combination of interest and accuracy in these two texts on American government. Professor Johnson's revised edition is accurate and fairly comprehensive, but sounds rather like a lecture at 2 P. M. on a warm spring day! It also suffers from a heavy touch and a failure to pick out some of the important intangibles in American government. For example, the chapter on the Presidency overlooks the argument of stability for a completely independent executive—which seems to the reviewer to be the most important argument. The author also neglects the President's loss of influence in his second term. Despite occasional lack of balance, however, it is a solid book for one who wishes to teach his American government largely from a textbook with much constitutional and legal background.

Professor Phillips writes in the lively W. B. Munro tradition—and does it even better than Munro. Unfortunately, he is afflicted with a besetting inaccuracy. For example, he comments: "There is need . . . that there be established an interstate legislative reference bureau." Apparently, he is entirely unaware of the fact that there has been such a bureau for almost a decade. The reviewer was in charge of it for two years and hence has reason to feel sure of its existence.

The spot where Professor Phillips really slips off into deep water is in his discussion of the recommendations of the President's Committee on

Administrative Management. He writes, in exact opposition to the truth: "The President recommended the substitution of an auditor's office, subject to the executive rather than to Congress."

Just as the average bachelor eventually decides to get married anyway, the average teacher chooses a text. Reduced to the alternatives here offered, I would be rather inclined to choose Mr. Phillips—if only for the fun of correcting him and filling in the gaps. The only true solution of the problem is, of course, intellectual polygamy. I remember hearing J. P. Baxter remark, a decade ago, that the age of all-inclusive books on American history was practically past. Let us hope that that will be the case shortly in American government and that Professors Johnson and Phillips will be free to devote their very real talents to topics which one man can reasonably hope to cover in one book.

The University of Michigan. GEORGE C. S. BENSON.

The Old South: Struggles for Democracy. By WILLIAM E. DODD. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. vii, 312. $3.75.)

PROFESSOR Dodd has compressed into about three hundred pages the history of Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas before 1690. The subject is broadly viewed: the story of the founding of the settlements is retold; their economic life, their social order, their culture, and their politics are treated; and much attention is given to their English backgrounds and to their part in international conflicts. So broad a treatment in so small a space could not be both systematic and detailed. Consequently, Professor Dodd—except in a few chapters—has employed a rather discursive manner of presentation, descriptive and narrative rather than analytical, often impressionistic and disconnected, suggestive of a miscellany of random remarks and generalizations that do not always grow out of the evidence. Perhaps in order to avoid a display of learning he has made the sources of information too obscure.

From his pages one gets glimpses of turbulent times when a complex society was being formed. Judged by the range of topics, the work is not guilty of oversimplification. Mr. Dodd sees the colonies as affected by the major forces active in Europe. And he has an intimate knowledge of the Southern country which enables him to convey a vivid impression of the close relation between the land and the life of the people.

The central themes suggested, but unhappily not developed, are the emergence of democracy in America and the struggles to foster and retain it. Mr. Dodd suggests that the great enemy of democracy was the Stuart monarchy and that those forces were democratic which contended against absolutism. Thus Sir Edwin Sandys is made the father of democracy in Virginia, and colonial acts of resistance to the crown are treated as democratic. Mr. Dodd does not mean that such resistance merely prepared the

way for democracy; he states that Virginia after 1619 was a democracy and that its leading people held democratic views.

In support of this thesis Mr. Dodd offers the following statements. Manhood suffrage prevailed in Virginia until 1670. The expulsion of Sir John Harvey was a successful assertion of democratic resistance. The house of burgesses was the ruling power in the colony. Although social classes existed, the upper planters were willingly accepted as leaders, the lower folk easily rose in the social scale, and social harmony prevailed. In Mr. Dodd's view, religious liberty is an important democratic principle, and the Anglican Church did not violate it: either the people were devoted to the church, or unpopular church laws were ignored. Bacon's Rebellion was an uprising against Stuart absolutism as personified by Governor Berkeley.

Mr. Dodd's thesis of manhood suffrage does not take into account the indentured servants and the slaves. In view of the powers of the governor and council (over the land, for instance), the house of burgesses cannot be regarded as the supreme authority in the colony. The expulsion of Governor Harvey was obviously the work of upper class leaders rather than of the rank and file. As to the Anglican Church, the laws supporting it reflect an aristocratic rather than a democratic tendency. And finally, Bacon's Rebellion was an internal conflict denoting sharply drawn class lines and severe social tensions. In both the Harvey and Berkeley episodes the "absolutist" crown was by no means hostile to the "democratic" rebels.

Mr. Dodd has not analyzed critically and carefully the social structure of the Southern colonies and the economic foundations on which emerging classes rested. He has little to say about internal economic relationships—about growing inequalities in the distribution of wealth. That colonial resistance to the crown gave an impetus to democracy is undoubtedly true, but equally important was the internal struggle of democratic forces against the local upper class.

University of Wisconsin. CURTIS NETTELS.

The Administration of Justice under the Quebec Act. By HILDA M. NEATBY, Regina College, University of Saskatchewan. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Pp. v, 383. $6.00.)

The Quebec Act, a Primary Cause of the American Revolution. By CHARLES H. METZGER. (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1936. Pp. x, 223. $3.00.)

THE framers of the Quebec Act envisaged a legal system in the province which would give to all its inhabitants the benefits of English criminal law and would continue to the Canadians the enjoyment of their ancient law of real property. They left to the provincial authorities the task of introducing such amendments, particularly with respect to commercial matters,

as might be best suited to local conditions. It was a sensible approach to a difficult problem, and Miss Neatby thinks it might have proved a satisfactory solution had not the Revolutionary war both intensified party and racial feeling and provided Carleton with a pretext for defying the instructions sent to him. After the war there was a franker attempt to adopt the principles of 1774, but the ignorance, inexperience, and stubborn prejudices of most of the judges and court officials prevented any considerable improvement in the administration of the law.

Miss Neatby's interest is not primarily in the political story, of which she does not tell us much more than we already know from Professor Burt. The greater part of this book is devoted to a detailed description of the fashion in which the law was actually administered from 1775 to 1791. If the picture is cloudy, it is not Miss Neatby's fault. The substantive law was French, but nobody knew how much of French law was also Canadian. The adjective law was partly English and partly French, but nobody knew where to draw the boundary between adjective and substantive nor how to administer French law by English procedure. Lawyers pleaded whichever system suited their cause the better or whichever was better calculated to meet the predelictions of the judges. Judges handed down unreasoned decisions according to their views of equity or party or according to the respect which they entertained for the rival pleaders. Temperamental clerks of courts kept unveracious and incomplete records nearly as useless to judges in appeal as those which survive are vexatious to the historian.

It is very much to Miss Neatby's credit that she makes this confusion less confounded. She knows her law and knows how to make it clear to the layman. She knows her documents and uses them with skill and dependability, though, it must be added, not always with scrupulous attention to *ipsissima verba*. One chapter carries the typical suitor through the common pleas from summons to execution. Another deals with the court of appeals. Another shows the mixture of politics and law in Haldimand vs. Cochrane, the *cause célèbre* of the period. There are chapters on the criminal law, on the prerogative court, and on the cost of justice. In short, Miss Neatby has given us the first competent and thoroughgoing account of legal administration in any American colony. One suspects, however, that it might not have been so gloomy a one had better records been kept and had the author not been obliged to rely for so large a proportion of her material on the complaints of dissatisfied suitors and advocates.

Father Metzger's thesis is that the toleration clauses of the Quebec Act ought to be reckoned a major cause of the American Revolution. He supports this thesis first by showing that anti-Catholic bigotry existed in the thirteen colonies and then by presenting a considerable collection of contemporary opinions hostile to the act. The implication apparently is that such strong feeling must have led to strong action. It is the sort of propo-

sition which it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to prove but upon which the opinions of a careful investigator are worthy of respect. Unfortunately Father Metzger is not careful in handling his documents or cautious in interpreting them. For example, he states (p. 39) that it was known in America in August, 1773, that toleration for the Roman Catholics of Quebec was being considered. "At once scribblers became intensely active; numbers . . . broke into print." This show of zeal soon died down, but "the following spring witnessed an outburst which gathered force", etc. There is not a single citation of American origin dated before August, 1774, which supports the statement quoted. But it is characteristic of the book that four documents are cited as though they did support it. Three of these, which Father Metzger dates August 29, 1773, should be dated exactly one year later. Two of them were written in Great Britain and merely reprinted in American newspapers. And two of them make no mention whatever of Quebec or the Quebec Bill. The chapter on sermons is, so far as concerns New England, more convincing. The section on the pronouncements of colonial assemblies supports the view that toleration in Quebec was utilized as a channel for rhetoric rather than considered an actual grievance.

The University of Michigan. S. Morley Scott.

James Madison, Builder: A New Estimate of a Memorable Career. By Abbot Emerson Smith, Assistant Professor and Fellow in History at Bard College, Columbia University. (New York: Wilson-Erickson; Elliot Publishing Company, distributors. 1937. Pp. vii, 366. $4.00.)

George Mason, Constitutionalist. By Helen Hill. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. xxii, 300. $3.50.)

The flood of journalistic biographies seems to be subsiding. Here and there, land is emerging which many readers may regard as essentially *dry*, but students welcome as offering at least a solid foundation. The authors of the two works here reviewed evidently have been drawn to their respective undertakings through interest, and their conclusions are based upon long and careful investigation. Both are sympathetic with their subjects, but without attempt to disguise or gloss over limitations in the characters portrayed. Both works are alike also in that they are interpretations of distinguishing qualities rather than rounded complete biographies. This is indicated by their titles and emphasized in one case by the subtitle. After reading them one does not carry away a clear picture of the personality of either Madison or Mason.

Professor Smith's study opens auspiciously with a few paragraphs that will long stand as a delightfully frank, unprejudiced examination of Madison's qualities, ending with the opinion of his contemporaries "that he was honorable, scholarly, conscientious, cautious, and obstinate". The first

part of the book traces Madison's public life to its culmination in his greatest achievement—the services rendered in the Federal Convention and in obtaining the ratification of the Constitution. The sanity of the author's interpretation is exemplified in this comment (p. 103): "Like the political philosophy of the great majority of mankind, Madison's was a rationalization of his conscious and unconscious attitudes and interests." The author's fairness is shown in the treatment of the Federal Convention, where, he frankly declares, "it cannot be said that Madison was distinguished as a counsellor. He did not like compromises." A little later he adds: "Thus Madison, the father of the Constitution, was actually opposed to the two great compromises which made that document possible."

Madison's subsequent career, through the anticlimax of the Presidency, where he cut a pathetic figure, is treated very much in the same way. There follows a concluding chapter, entirely too brief, on the last twenty years of his life, when "Madison was constantly consulted upon literary, historical, and even philosophical questions by correspondents". Perhaps the author's summary is correct: "Of all his writings on these casual subjects, few are of much importance." That depends, however, upon the student's interest. The discussions of many constitutional and diplomatic questions by Madison in letters to his correspondents have considerable value for specialists in those subjects.

Professor Smith's book is the best presentation we have of what Madison contributed to American political and constitutional development. It is, and will remain, a distinct aid to the understanding of a figure almost insignificant personally and yet one of the important characters in American history. The form in which the book has been published leaves something to be desired. The index is so condensed as to be of little value, containing scarcely more than a list of names. The printing, paper, and binding are not attractive, and a printer's blunder at the very end of the book entirely destroys the effect which the author desired to convey.

George Mason did not play the conspicuous part that fate ordained for Madison, yet he exercised great influence at the time our independence was declared and left an indelible mark upon our political institutions and particularly upon our state and federal constitutions. Miss Hill, in her well-written and attractive study, has much in the opening chapters upon environment and contemporary conditions, but the leading character remains a somewhat dim and shadowy figure. This is largely because his was not a dominating personality that lends itself to portrayal in sharp relief. Perhaps the author accomplishes her purpose, however, for it is evident that Mason was reserved, aristocratic, and retiring. As befitted a gentleman of his quality, he took his place as a leader in parish, town, and county. For a time during the Revolution he was active in the affairs of his state, and he emerged from his seclusion at Gunston Hall to take part in the Federal

Convention of 1787. His refusal to sign the Constitution was in keeping with his character and temperament, as was his opposition in the Virginia ratifying convention.

Mason is generally known as the author of the bill of rights that prefaced the first constitution of Virginia, in 1776, and rightly so, for that accomplishment typifies the character of his contribution to American political and constitutional development. As Miss Hill has expressed it: "His essential interest remained throughout his life an interest in the ideas upon which government was established." The absence of a declaration of rights was placed in the forefront of his "Objections" to the federal Constitution, and to him in large measure should be ascribed the gentlemen's agreement that found its fulfillment in the ultimate adoption of the first ten amendments to the Constitution. His passionate antagonism to slavery was but a corollary of the larger proposition.

The whole study might be summarized by taking a single quotation: "Much as he acomplished during his periods of active public service, it may be questioned whether in the course of his lifetime he did not accomplish more as consultant, adviser, and advance guard to the political thinking of his contemporaries." George Mason deserves to be better known than he is to students of today, and it is fortunate that he has found at last an appreciative interpreter and a congenial spirit in Miss Hill, for it is evident that the author's interest also is in ideas and in the theory and philosophy of government.

Huntington Library. MAX FARRAND.

William Samuel Johnson, a Maker of the Constitution. By GEORGE C. GROCE, JR. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 227. $2.75.)

IN 1876 E. E. Beardsley published his *Life and Times of William Samuel Johnson.* This meritorious work, which, however, manifests the limitations of all biographical writing of half a century ago, has been the standard authority up to the present for the life of one of the most distinguished figures of the Revolutionary and formative national periods of American history. It must now give place to Dr. Groce's painstaking study, which is an excellent example of historical detachment and of the sober evaluation of evidence.

As to Johnson's early career, the influences that shaped his character and outlook on life, his preparation for the bar and the commanding position that he soon attained as a Connecticut lawyer, the variety of his cultural interests, and his business ventures—all these are well developed by Dr. Groce, as are also his moderating influence during the Stamp Act crisis, especially as a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress, and the astute manner by which he, a western Connecticut Episcopalian and, all in all, a con-

servative, won the support of the radical eastern Connecticut New Light, Susquehanna Company group in his successful candidacy for a place in the governor's council. The years of his residence in England in the interests of the colony are also interestingly portrayed, although one may regret that the opportunity was not seized to analyze Johnson's masterly defense of the Connecticut charter in 1768, then under attack by Hillsborough, the secretary of state for the colonies, a defense which is worthy to stand beside that of an earlier colonial agent, Jeremiah Dummer.

Johnson's search for preferment upon his return to Connecticut and the support that he gave to his late father's plan for an American Anglican bishop, his indecision in the developing crisis, his evasion of the responsibility of acting as a delegate to the First Continental Congress, and his difficult and embarrassing position during the Revolutionary War are also quite adequately treated. Yet, again, one may regret that his *Thoughts on the Disputes between Great Britain and her Colonies* was not presented and analyzed. After the war, the problem that confronted him was the means that he should take to re-establish himself in the good graces of the people of Connecticut. His great forensic abilities earlier displayed and still unimpaired, he now placed his services at the disposal of the assembly in the Pennsylvania-Connecticut boundary dispute and so far re-established his influence within the state that he was not only sent to the Congress of the Confederation but to the Constitutional Convention and later became the senior United States senator from Connecitcut, resigning after two years to take up his duties as president of Columbia College, which office he had accepted in 1787. These aspects of Johnson's post-Revolutionary career, particularly his unwavering efforts to promote particular Connecticut interests which occasionally clashed with sound national policies, are not glossed over by the writer, who at the same time fully credits Johnson's important contributions toward the establishment of the new government.

The volume is in the main well written. It might to advantage have been expanded at certain points. Nevertheless, no student of American colonial and Revolutionary history can well afford to slight it.

Lehigh University. LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON.

His Excellency, George Clinton, Critic of the Constitution. By E. WILDER SPAULDING. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xiii, 325. $3.50.)

CLINTON's opposition to the ratification of the Federal Constitution by New York was only an episode, albeit an important one, in his long public career, and a single chapter of Mr. Spaulding's narrative suffices for it. His constitutional opinions, however, as Mr. Spaulding shows, were rooted in the ideas and emotions of the Revolution, and they did not change materially with changing times. He favored independence and just missed

being a signer of the Declaration because of necessary absence from Philadelphia. He submitted the Articles of Confederation promptly to the New York legislature in February, 1778, and saw them ratified a month later, and in 1780 he urged upon the legislature the need of strengthening the powers of Congress. He was "not enthusiastic", on the other hand, over the proposal of a Federal Convention, and the Constitution itself aroused all his ingrained state rights sympathies. The new arrangement, as he saw it, forecast a consolidated government with immense powers which would eventually destroy the states, and only by far-reaching amendment could popular rights and liberties be protected. His "Cato" letters, although adjudged by Mr. Spaulding "dull and ponderous" and "intemperate in their dogmatism and exaggeration", nevertheless "show far better than such scholarly productions as 'The Federalist' ", which they directly inspired, "what men were thinking and talking". He lost his case in the New York legislature not because his ideas were not widely shared but because the large anti-Federalist majority which he led—46 against 19 Federalists—was "composed for the most part of village lawyers, farmers and small town politicians", with whom leadership was an "impossibly difficult" task, and had no program to oppose to the united demand of the Federalists for ratification.

Once the Constitution was in effect, opposition could be directed only at Federalist policies, and Clinton was at no time pre-eminent as an opposition leader. His one great opportunity came in 1811, when he was able, by his casting vote as vice-president, to prevent a renewal of the charter of the first Bank of the United States. "It may possibly have occurred to him", Mr. Spaulding writes, "that the institution he was destroying had been the creation of his once great rival" Hamilton, but the vote "was entirely consistent with his convictions on the subject of banks". His reasons, as summarized in the narrative from the *Annals of Congress,* are not only, as Mr. Spaulding says, "an excellent statement of the position Jefferson had taken in 1791 in refuting Hamilton's contention that the bank could be properly established upon the doctrine of implied powers" but follow so closely Jefferson's argument and language as to suggest that Clinton, who was not an intellectual person, drew heavily upon Jefferson's opinion.

For the rest, Mr. Spaulding tells interestingly and in elaborate detail the story of Clinton's long and active life. The tangled politics, personal and factional, of New York, and the radical Republicanism which brought Clinton, as its most distinguished representative, into conflict with Hamilton and Burr necessarily bulk large in the narrative, but not to the extent of turning biography into history. There was need of the book, and Mr. Spaulding's thorough research leaves little, if anything, for other students to add.

New York City. WILLIAM MACDONALD.

John Langdon of New Hampshire. By Lawrence Shaw Mayo. (Concord: Rumford Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 303. $3.50.)

Mr. Mayo has never been a biographer of the three-volume "Life and Times" variety. He excels in re-creating the atmosphere of a period and in the portrayal of character by the skillful treatment of salient episodes. Thus in the present volume we have a full account of how John Langdon gave up his seat in Congress to secure the position of agent for marine affairs in New Hampshire, but his six terms as governor are dismissed in a few sentences. The result is a clear picture of Langdon's character but a less satisfactory one of some of his political activities.

The chief importance of this book for the historian lies in its treatment of the Revolutionary period. When the controversy with England began, John Langdon and his older brother, Woodbury, were well established in a mercantile career. The Langdons did not belong to the ruling oligarchy, but they had risen to wealth and prominence and might well hesitate to become revolutionists. Woodbury Langdon did hesitate, and though he was later chosen as one of New Hampshire's representatives in the Continental Congress, his political career was soon at an end.

John Langdon had the supreme virtue for a politician in a revolutionary age of knowing when and how to make up his mind. Mr. Mayo asserts that he was "always in advance of his time". If this be taken to mean that he made his political decisions somewhat in advance of the majority of his contemporaries, the statement is true, but he was never a political pioneer or a prophet. As befitted a New Hampshire Yankee, he was a practical man of affairs, not a theorist. In his calm good sense he reminds one of Franklin, without Franklin's wit. Apparently he gave little heed to the rising quarrel with England until the Portsmouth collector of customs seized a vessel aboard which he had a valuable cargo. The seizure was as impolitic as it was unjust, for Langdon promptly became one of the leaders of the Revolutionary movement in New Hampshire. Those of a leftist slant will mark him as a fit subject for debunking because he emerged from the war "perhaps the richest man in Portsmouth", but he also found time to see some military service and to hold many political and administrative positions where his business ability and patriotic devotion enabled him to further the common cause. Having had from the first a national outlook, he became after the war one of the leading advocates of a stronger national government, served in the Federal Convention, and was largely responsible for getting New Hampshire to ratify the Constitution. As a member of the first Senate he supported Hamilton's financial policies. In 1793-94, however, he became a Jeffersonian. His biographer ascribes this change chiefly to his hostility to Hamilton's pro-British policy, and letters here printed show his extreme dislike of Jay's Treaty. Always a leader, he built up a strong Republican party in New Hampshire and was the first Republican governor of the state. Jefferson offered him a position in his

cabinet, and in 1812 he was offered the nomination for the vice-presidency. Such a career places Langdon in the front rank of the secondary figures of the period. It is fortunate that we now have a biography of him from competent hands.

Williams College. A. H. Buffinton.

Thomas Willing and the First American Financial System. By Burton Alva Konkle. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 237. $3.00.)

This biography is of decidedly mixed value. Mr. Konkle's presentation, from scattered and scanty sources, of a connected narrative of Willing's early public life represents a real contribution. Less satisfactory is the account of his mercantile activities. The author exaggerates the significance of Willing's nonimportation leadership in 1765 and also his association in 1780 with the patriotic purchasing agency commonly called the Pennsylvania Bank. The former, we are repeatedly assured, "was the heaviest blow ever struck by an American colony" and "the real beginning of revolution". The latter is described with similar reiteration, but with scant documentation, as having "saved the armies of General Washington and the republic". Equally dubious is the assertion (p. 78) that Willing, for all we know, might have signed the original manuscript Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.

The second half of the book deals chiefly with Willing's service as president of the Bank of North America (Nov. 2, 1781-Jan. 9, 1792) and of the first Bank of the United States (Oct. 25, 1791-Nov. 10, 1807). As a pioneer banker Willing has long deserved more adequate historical recognition. But Mr. Konkle contributes relatively little new factual material, commits innumerable and inexcusable errors, and badly distorts the nature of Willing's true influence.

No study has been made of the extant records of the Bank of North America. A few stray manuscripts relating to the Bank of the United States are utilized. The interesting exchange of addresses accompanying Willing's resignation in 1807 is reproduced from contemporary newspapers. There is no acknowledgment that the present reviewer called the author's attention to the letter describing the illness which occasioned this retirement. With minor exceptions, the remaining material is gleaned from unreliable secondary sources.

Only a few of the scores of factual errors can be noted here. Chancellor Livingston, far from collaborating with Alexander Hamilton in organizing the Bank of New York in 1784 (p. 105), sponsored a rival project for a land bank. Hamilton's "Opinion on the Constitutionality of a National Bank" appears to be confused with his "Report on a National Bank" (pp. 131-34). The bill to charter the bank was not presented to the Senate on December 23, 1790 (p. 134); a committee reported the bill on January

3, 1791. The Senate debated the bill from January 10 to 20, not "for about a month" (p. 140). The vote in the House was 39 to 20, not 39 to 18 (p. 140). The bank's notes were made "receivable for all payments to the United States", not "legal tender for all debts" (p. 141). Bank "script" reached 312, possibly 325, in Philadelphia in August, 1791, not merely 150 (p. 142). Wolcott was Comptroller of the Treasury in 1791, not Comptroller of the Currency (p. 142), an office not created until 1863. The magnificent new building occupied by the bank in 1797 did not cost $480,000 (p. 166); that figure, probably derived from Gallatin's report of 1809, includes the real estate of all the branches. (On September 29, 1797, the main bank carried its estate at $106,705, and on November 11, 1800, at $148,542.) A grandiose statement regarding the building (p. 169) is incorrect. The government sold its remaining bank shares in 1802 to facilitate remittances to Holland, not primarily to reduce its debt to the bank (p. 178). The paper on "Continental Money" attributed to Samuel Breck (p. 193) was written by his son, Samuel Breck, jr. Archibald McCall is erroneously described (p. 193) as being Willing's father-in-law. John Jacob Astor's opposition to renewal of the bank's charter in 1811 arose from his bitter quarrel with the New York branch, not from a supposed desire to have the main bank located in New York (p. 197). Thomas M. Willing, not his octogenarian father, served as a subscription commissioner for the second Bank of the United States in 1816 (p. 208). The commissioners were appointed by Madison, not by Monroe (p. 209).

Even more vitiating than such errors is Mr. Konkle's fond portrayal of Thomas Willing as "The Economic Father of His Country" and as "The Old Regulator" of American finance—a veritable Robert Morris, Nicholas Biddle, and Jay Cooke all rolled into one. There is no adequate recognition of the fiscal genius of Alexander Hamilton or of his expert framing of the charter of the Bank of the United States. Instead, we read of "President Willing's Bank", of his wisdom ensuring the success and safety of the branches, of his loans to the government, and so on *ad nauseam*. Actually, the board of directors was the real governing agency of the bank, formulating its policies and controlling their execution. When Willing retired after sixteen years of honorable and faithful service, the directors expressed "their great satisfaction" with his "impartial conduct . . . . as well during their proceedings as in coinciding to their decisions".

The present reviewer has a high admiration for "Old Square Toes", as Willing was irreverently but affectionately styled by contemporaries. His brief "Autobiography" (1786) ascribed his success not to "superior abilities or extensive knowledge" but to "a steady application to whatever I have undertaken, a civil and respectful deportment to all my fellow citizens, and to an honest and upright conduct in every transaction of life".

New York University. JAMES O. WETTEREAU.

The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822: A Study of the Relations of the United States with Spain and with the Rebel Spanish Colonies. By CHARLES CARROLL GRIFFIN, Instructor in History, Vassar College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. 315. $3.75.)

DR. Griffin's work is based upon careful study of the principal European archives as well as those of the Department of State; he has seen the documents in the Public Record Office and in the Ministère des Affaires étrangères; more important still, he has made full use of the Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid and has obtained further data at Simancas. Indeed, the most striking characteristic of his book is its throughness: the story is not told from the diplomatic correspondence alone; newspaper materials have been skillfully used in the examination of the development of American public opinion; and the published sources have been well combed. If finality is rarely attained in historical research, it may at least be said of this book that it goes a very long way towards that goal.

The period subjected to examination, as the title shows, runs from the first outbreaks of the great revolutionary movement in Spanish America to the recognition of the newborn republics of the south by the administration of James Monroe in 1822. Dr. Griffin's researches do not add a great deal to our knowledge with regard to the early period, 1810-1815, but as he moves into the negotiations for the cession of East Florida, which form the core of his narrative, he profits largely from his careful use of the Spanish sources and illuminates Spanish policy in most interesting fashion. The Spanish government was, in the period just after 1815, encouraged in a temporizing policy by some expressions of Lord Castlereagh which seemed to indicate vigorous British opposition to the cession of Florida; it assumed that the Florida question might be used to stave off American action in the question of the colonies; but it began to give way in the spring of 1818. At this time, indeed, Pizarro, the Spanish minister of state, was ready in case of necessity to surrender a good part of Texas, as far as the Colorado. By August of the same year the need for concession became still clearer, and Jackson's famous invasion of Florida had a stimulating effect upon the negotiations, pointing the necessity of action rather than increasing the tension. But the Spanish government still wished to attach impossible conditions to any cession, requiring a guaranty of territory not ceded and assurances that no aid would be given to the rebels in America. A change of ministery in the fall of 1818 brought matters nearer to a conclusion; Yrujo, Pizarro's successor, was ready to divorce the Florida question from neutrality enforcement; and it was he, Dr. Griffin believes, who really made possible the final success of the negotiation. On the boundary question Yrujo left to Onís, the Spanish minister at Washington, a free hand, and it

is impossible not to admire the manner in which that official, with virtually all the cards in his opponent's hand, managed to make as good a bargain as he did, saving Texas from the Americans.

Dr. Griffin's study also sheds more light on the Spanish side of the negotiation after the signing of the treaty, on the delays of the regime of Ferdinand and his advisers, on the rather shady affair of the Spanish land grants, on the discussions in the Spanish revolutionary government of 1820 and 1821, which finally brought the whole Florida cession to consummation.

Intertwined with the Florida question is the question of American policy towards the Spanish-American colonies. Here the original contributions of the work under review are less obvious, but there is a bringing together of materials hitherto scattered and an excellent discussion of such questions as Spanish-American filibustering and of American public opinion on the colonial struggle. The final decision in favor of recognition, it is maintained, was shaped in considerable measure by the hope of commercial gain, though it is candidly admitted that the evidences of direct pressure on the administration are not numerous. On this point, in the judgment of the reviewer, who claims no finality for the view expressed in his own work on the Monroe Doctrine, the author fails to establish his contention wholly satisfactorily.

Dr. Griffin writes lucidly and interestingly; his book is well organized, its manner is detached and cool, his opinions, when expressed, are judicious and convincing. He has made a contribution of real importance to American diplomatic history.

The University of Rochester. DEXTER PERKINS.

South American Dictators during the First Century of Independence. Edited by A. CURTIS WILGUS. [Studies in Hispanic American Affairs.] (Washington: George Washington University Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 502. $3.00.)

THIS volume, the last of the series issued under the direction of Dr. Wilgus, comprises the lectures given before the Fifth Seminar Conference on Hispanic American Affairs at the George Washington University. It consists of sketches of the lives of selected South American leaders which, in effect, present the history of certain periods in the national life of the republics they dominated. In some of these countries the rule of dictators has been fairly continuous, while in others the domination of strong men has been for briefer periods. There is, consequently, an unevenness in the treatment accorded to the various nations. Further, the fact that a number of lecturers participated in the course contributes to a lack of uniformity in the presentation and character of the material. This account of a part of South American history as revealed in the lives and activities of those men who so largely molded it makes most interesting reading. The work

portrays the mentality and character of these leaders, whether they were dictators in the fullest sense or merely *caudillos* who, for a greater or lesser time, controlled the situation in their countries.

The introduction consists of a general statement regarding dictators by Dr. Wilgus and a consideration of monarchies and republics as forms of government in South America and a study entitled "The Anguish of Bolívar" by Dr. J. Fred Rippy. The body of the volume comprises three groups of studies; the first, regarding Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile, is written by Dr. Lewis W. Bealer. Except for Solano Lopez of Paraguay and Balmaceda of Chile, all the characters included in this section pertain to the period before 1860. Among these, Francia, Rosas, Carlos Antonio Lopez, and Francisco Solano Lopez rate as outstanding dictators. The author, however, classes all those included in his lectures as "great dictators" and repeats it over and over. The second group, relating to Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, is written by Dr. N. Andrew N. Cleven. He describes the work of San Martín and Bolívar in Peru and includes a number of other personages, especially Flores of Ecuador, all of whom belong to the first half century of independence. In the third section Dr. Rippy discusses the dictators of Colombia and Venezuela. These chapters are a summary of the history of the countries based on the activity of the outstanding characters in each. It is only in the case of Venezuela that dictators of the twentieth century, Cipriano Castro and Juan Vicente Gomez, are included. The final chapter, by Dr. Alan K. Manchester, is entitled "Constitutional Dictatorship in Brazil" and indicates the difficulty that was experienced in including nineteenth century Brazil in a study of dictators. There is a supplementary lecture on "Juan Manuel de Rosas and the Church" by Dr. Almon R. Wright.

The best chapters are those by Dr. Rippy, Dr. Wright, and Dr. Manchester. Those by Dr. Bealer and Dr. Cleven evince a certain lack of finish. There is much repetition of the same phraseology, and too frequently a name appears twice in one sentence or is repeated many times in a short paragraph (*e.g.*, p. 350). Many individuals are introduced by their surname only, and the index gives no additional aid in many cases. For example, thirty characters are mentioned on page 300 without given names, of which only four are found in the index. The inclusion of many expressions and lengthy quotations in Spanish by Dr. Cleven does not make the work attractive for the general reader.

The idea of presenting such a collection of biographical sketches is an excellent one, and in spite of the criticism that may be made of the volume, it still serves as a valuable introduction to the activities of an outstanding group of South Americans associated for the most part with the first half century of independence.

The National Archives. Roscoe R. Hill.

Henry Wheaton, 1785-1848. By Elizabeth Feaster Baker. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1937. Pp. x, 425. $4.00.)

The diligent and painstaking author of the volume under review remarks somewhat apologetically in her foreword that "this essay", as she modestly calls it, is to be considered "not as a biography in the modern psychological sense but as an effort to portray the man in his career". As a result, instead of a "featured" and titillating caricature designed for morbid emotionalists who crave entertainment rather than knowledge, we have a faithful portrayal of Wheaton as a man and a comprehensive presentation of his exceptionally varied and exceptionally distinguished accomplishments. For not only was he a student, practitioner, and judicial administrator of the law and an active participant in party contests and public affairs, but he was also a man of letters, a recondite historian, a constructive diplomatist, and withal the author of one of the most famous treatises on international law ever written.

Born in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1785, Wheaton was graduated from the College of Rhode Island, later Brown University, in 1802; and, having subsequently spent three years in a lawyer's office, he was in 1805, at the age of nineteen, admitted to the Rhode Island bar. This was followed by a period of travel, observation, and study in Europe. In France he attended the meetings of learned societies, met public men, and translated the Code Napoléon into English. In England he familiarized himself with governmental methods and gave special attention to the proceedings of the courts. On his return to the United States he entered upon the practice of the law, but he also took an active part in politics, becoming a member of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order and aligning himself with the followers of Jefferson. In 1812 he removed to New York, where, pending his fulfillment of the local residential requirements for admission to the bar, he edited the *National Advocate,* a Tammany organ. He warmly supported the war of 1812 and condemned the Hartford Convention. In 1815 he published *A Digest of the Law of Maritime Captures and Prizes,* and in the same year became the chief justice of the Marine Court of New York. In 1814 he made his first appearance before the Supreme Court of the United States, and in 1816 he succeeded William Cranch as its reporter. In this capacity he added valuable notes to the court's decisions, together with commentaries on legal questions, particularly in the domain of maritime law. In 1821 he published a digest of the court's decisions. In 1824 he figured among the candidates to succeed Brockholst Livingston as a justice of the court, but the appointment fell to Smith Thompson, of whom it may be said that his general reputation has not been commensurate with his abilities and his judicial deliverances. Meanwhile, Wheaton had served as a member of the convention to revise the New York constitution of 1777 and as a member of the assembly in the legislature that met in January,

1824. Without specific show of restless energy, it may truly be said that for extent and variety, combined with solidity and finish, his work was prodigious.

Wheaton's diplomatic career began with his appointment in 1827 as chargé d'affaires to Denmark. Traveling by way of England, where he renewed old acquaintances, he arrived at Copenhagen on September 19; and by the following June he had sufficiently mastered the national language to review certain works of the Danish philologist Rask, the real discoverer, as I was taught in my university days, of Grimm's law of the transmutation of consonants. By this inevitable indulgence of his natural bent, Wheaton no doubt contributed to the conclusion of the notable convention of March 28, 1830, by which, in consideration of the payment by Denmark of a lump sum, all claims of the one government against the other on account of maritime captures were internationally settled and ended. The precedent thus set led to other and similar international transactions. The record of achievement at Copenhagen was later amplified, diversified, and raised to a yet higher level at Berlin. Wheaton became a European figure. Not only did learned societies confer upon him their choicest distinctions, but wherever he went he was welcome and at home in the highest circles, diplomatic, political, scientific, and social.

By contrast with such exceptional renown, the litigation in which Wheaton and his works became involved wears a tragic aspect. His suit against Peters for the infringement of a copyright which he claimed in his Supreme Court reports, while ending in defeat, also seriously depleted his private means. Hardly less unfortunate were the results of the suit which, after he had passed away, William Beach Lawrence prosecuted against Richard Henry Dana on account of the latter's alleged infringement of the former's copyright on his edition of Wheaton's *Elements of International Law*. From the late J. Hubley Ashton, the last of the old and famous Supreme Court bar, who knew both Lawrence and Dana well, I received the impression that this litigation might have been avoided had Dana patiently heard and duly weighed the representations which Lawrence, in personal conference with Dana at the latter's office, sought to make to him. There were aspects of the subject which, though not obvious to the naked eye, sufficed for a contentious lawsuit.

On the make-up of the present volume I cannot forbear to comment. Towards the end, following a detail of Wheaton's writings and the text of a treaty, there are forty-three pages, in fine print, of so-called "Notes", which would, in former times, have been duly attached as footnotes to the text, thus enabling the reader immediately to pursue the reference should he wish to do so. Still worse, they are independently numbered in chapter-groups, with no indication in the text of the page at which the group may be found, thus remorselessly wasting the time of the reader who may be

serious enough to wish to consult them. Following this there is a "Bibliography", listing many indefinite items that, if not properly omitted, might have been compressed into a smaller space. Under "Memoirs, Etc." (p. 387) I find that my collection of Buchanan's works, in twelve volumes, was made by "James" Bassett Moore, a double whom I have never met. On the other hand, in connection with the services rendered by Baron Roenne as umpire of a celebrated claims commission between the United States and Mexico, I find no citation of my *History and Digest of International Arbitrations*. The author states (p. 218) that the United States requested, through Wheaton, copies of Roenne's "decisions". This is an error. The request was for copies of the confidential reports in which Roenne advised his government of the grounds of his decisions. Roenne's decisions, which consisted of formal awards, were officially printed in the public documents of the time. The facts are fully stated in the second volume of the work last mentioned, with the citation of House Executive Document No. 83, 30th Congress, 1st session, as a source. I am decidedly of the opinion that where papers have been embodied in a public document, the document rather than the manuscript source should be cited, unless the print contains an error. I do not object to the citation of both. But, as it is not feasible, even in this airplane era, for students to punctuate their reading with excursions to the national repository of manuscripts, perchance only to be denied access in the particular instance, the omission of the printed source is not defensible.

New York City. JOHN BASSETT MOORE.

Marcus Whitman, M. D., Pioneer and Martyr. By CLIFFORD MERRILL DRURY. (Caldwell: Caxton Printers. 1937. Pp. 473. $5.00.)

THIS book traces the careers of Marcus and Narcissa Prentiss Whitman to their tragic ending. It is almost as much a biography of Narcissa as of Marcus, and the title could have properly included her name. There are nineteen chapters of which the first four give an admirable and largely new account of the early years of the two principals. Two others carry on the story to the beginning of the trip to Oregon in 1836. The remainder, about two thirds of the text, covers the eleven years of missionary effort, the gruesome events of November 29, 1847, and an epilogue.

Six appendixes follow. Of these the most important is the last, a letter written by the Reverend H. K. W. Perkins, of the Oregon Methodist mission, on October 19, 1849, to Jane Prentiss, sister of Narcissa, commenting on the causes of the Whitman massacre. A short bibliography and a short index conclude the work.

Mr. Drury discloses a thorough grasp of the external facts relating strictly to the mission history. Appendix I, which is an elaborate index to the letters of the two Whitmans, is evidence of this. There are few byways

of that history which he has failed to explore. On the other hand, his grasp of the background Oregon history, the Oregon question, and contemporary events in the Willamette valley is less secure. The reference to "Rev. George Abernathy" can hardly have been a slip of the pen, and the repeated misspelling of his surname is one of a number of small errors which ought to have been caught in proofreading. On the whole, despite such obvious faults, the facts of the history with which the author is chiefly concerned are presented with exceptional completeness. On that score the book should be heartily welcomed by students of the Oregon mission story.

It is when one probes beneath the surface that doubts arise, for the book represents a peculiar duality in aim. There are many indications that the author accepts the Perkins theory to explain why the Whitmans failed in their work as missionaries. Yet the author's final word about Dr. Whitman is startlingly out of harmony with such a conclusion. He writes: "Perhaps in the new light of his accomplishments, Marcus Whitman may yet be deemed worthy of being included in the New York University Hall of Fame."

Now, the Perkins letter (closely following the above), whose views the author had endorsed in advance (see p. 421), agrees rather with the judgment of William I. Marshall, who pronounced Whitman a "third rate man". Mr. Drury very properly refuses to believe that Whitman had any influence in "saving Oregon". If now, with Perkins, he also withholds from him credit for genuine competency as a missionary, it is hard to see on what ground he could be ranked among America's great men.

Perkins declared of the Whitmans: "They were not adapted to their work. They could not possibly interest and gain the affection of the natives. . . . Had Doctor Whitman given himself up wholly to the interests of the natives [even] with his natural unfitness for the place he occupied, he no doubt would have been *safe,* safe as anywhere in Christendom." There is much more in the letter which stamps it as an out-and-out indictment of the Whitmans in their character as missionaries to the Oregon Indians.

One reads between the lines of the present work, and also of the author's previous work on Henry Harmon Spalding, that his convictions harmonize with the Perkins views. Not that he openly avows them. On the contrary, he strives to keep himself spiritually *en rapport* with the large body of thought and sentiment idealizing Dr. and Mrs. Whitman. Nevertheless, he wants his book to be regarded as the last word in critical historiography, which requires, as he believes, the revaluation downward of Whitman's missionary character and work. He cannot have it both ways: if Whitman was what he, agreeing with Perkins, thinks he was, then certainly he is not a proper subject for inclusion in the Hall of Fame.

On the question of whether the author's (and Perkins's) estimate of Whitman as a missionary is correct, this reviewer does not care to express

an opinion. It might be suggested, however, that a broad line of distinction should be drawn between the Whitmans' earlier years in Oregon, which were a period of hope and faith, and the latter years, a time of waning influence, multiplied discouragements, despair. Perhaps a case could be made for the Whitmans as being admirable missionaries in a period of hopefulness but poorly qualified to carry on under the fear or the consciousness of impending catastrophe.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin. JOSEPH SCHAFER.

Horatio Seymour of New York. By STEWART MITCHELL. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. xx, 623. $5.00.)

THE long-standing need for a satisfactory biography of Horatio Seymour makes Mr. Mitchell's volume welcome, the more so since it is comprehensive, scholarly, and at the same time interesting. The book is necessarily a political biography, for the principal activities of Seymour's life, aside from the management of family estates and his enduring interest in canal developments, were largely of a political character. Through the intercession of Martin Van Buren, a friend of his father, Seymour began his public career in 1833 as military secretary to Governor W. L. Marcy and remained his close associate in political affairs until Marcy's death twenty-four years later. The author makes clear the importance of this connection in shaping Seymour's course as a politician and painstakingly leads us through his participation in the factional broils of New York Democracy in the 1840's and 1850's.

Approximately half of the book treats of Seymour's views and activities in the years from the campaign of 1860 to the close of that of 1868, when Seymour himself was the genuinely unwilling nominee of the Democratic party. Seymour is represented in these pages as a calm, reasonable conservative, consistently adhering to Jeffersonian conceptions and exercising a moderating influence in the national counsels of his party on the eve of the Civil War and in the critical years that followed. He supported the candidacy of Douglas in 1860 as the surest hope of preserving peace, then aligned himself with the compromisers in the winter of 1860-61, and when the Crittenden proposals failed in Congress joined in the demand for a popular referendum upon them. If any doubt remains as to Seymour's public or private loyalty, Mr. Mitchell's analysis of the record should serve to dissipate it finally. It shows that while Seymour may have believed secession to be "a right" founded upon abstract principles, he pronounced it revolution (pp. 224-27) and when war came unhesitatingly took his stand on the Union side. Through the governor's words and acts as here set forth we are enabled to see that although he questioned the "effectiveness of coercion", he accepted conquest as "the alternative to compromise" (p. 298) and in his first annual message as war governor (1863) pledged

himself to a prompt response to "all constitutional demands" of the national government (p. 268). His quarrels with the Washington authorities resulted from differences as to what demands were constitutional. Like many others then and since, he could find no constitutional warrant for the Emancipation Proclamation, conscription, or the suppression of civil rights in wartime and bluntly said so, thereby enabling his political opponents to call his loyalty in question. Seymour's side of the case in these matters is cogently presented; Mr. Mitchell demonstrates that the governor was motivated by sincere convictions rather than by petty partisanship, but he observes that "Seymour led men who lacked a sense of reality" (p. 295) and adds that "if Lincoln had kept a strict eye on the Constitution, the North could not have conquered the South" (*ibid.*). He exonerates the governor of the old charge of sympathy with the draft rioters in New York City in 1863 and makes clear the absurdity of the Copperhead label fastened upon him. Mr. Mitchell shows that Seymour's unwavering insistence from the outset upon the restoration of the Union as an indispensable basis for peace made him about as unpopular with that element as his conservatism on war and reconstruction issues did with the radical Republicans.

Although the author has covered admirably the whole of Seymour's career in state and national politics, he has been less successful in portraying the man himself. There has been no lack of effort; time and again he has turned aside from the main narrative to set the man in some familiar environment, but except near the end, when Seymour was in retirement on his farm, he remains a somewhat shadowy figure. The difficulty probably rests with Seymour: he was too moderate; he had none of the colorful qualities of the great politicians of his time and little of their soaring ambition for place and popular acclaim.

Dartmouth College. A. Howard Meneely.

Dorothea Dix, Forgotten Samaritan. By Helen E. Marshall. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 298. $3.50.)

The first complete biography of Dorothea Dix, appearing three years after her death in 1887, was a fairly well-documented and appreciative "life". To this earlier study of Francis Tiffany, Dr. Marshall has now added a richer, more critical, and more sensitively written biography. Miss Marshall adds a good deal to our knowledge of the early schoolteaching years of Dorothea Dix and of her books for children. But her most important contribution, perhaps, lies in her understanding explanation of Dorothea Dix's reasons for her remarkable humanitarian activities. Miss Dix's decision to devote her life to helping those whom society neglected was a logical outcome of her own grim girlhood, her experiences with her prosperous and somewhat social-minded grandparents, her disappointment in love, and her conversion to William Ellery Channing's gospel that no mat-

ter how degraded a human being might be, he was still capable of endless spiritual development. Miss Marshall's treatment of the relationships between these psychological factors and Miss Dix's humanitarian career leaves little to be desired. She might, however, have related more specifically Miss Dix's crusade for the humane institutional treatment of the mentally ill to other efforts to relieve human suffering and to the larger social phases and underlying causes of humanitarianism.

After a painstaking investigation of the treatment of the indigent insane in Massachusetts Miss Dix in 1843 introduced her memorial to the legislature of that state. It became a classic and was followed by an epoch-making series of case studies and state surveys which betrayed similarly appalling conditions throughout the nation. Largely as a result of Miss Dix's indefatigable activity, in which she did not spare her delicate physique, thirty hospitals for the treatment of mental diseases were established in the United States. Like other humanitarian reformers Dorothea Dix operated in Europe as well as in her native land.

Miss Dix, after traveling more than 60,000 miles under great inconveniences, in 1848 inaugurated her lobby in Washington to induce the federal government to set aside 12,225,000 acres of public land, the income of which was to be used as a source of permanent endowments for the state institutional care of the insane, the blind, and the deaf and dumb. While Dr. Marshall describes what these trying years meant to Dorothea Dix, she does not always indicate the relations between the land bills she proposed and general land policies. Nor does she discuss them in the light of the political, sectional, and class tensions of the time.

Although Dorothea Dix encountered much criticism as superintendent of nurses during the Civil War, Miss Marshall's excellent account of this chapter in her life makes it clear that, in view of the complex character of the tasks confronting her, her work was more important than her critics and she herself thought. Without idealizing her subject, without claiming too much in the matter of achievement, Dr. Marshall has given us a biography notable both for its literary merit and its scholarship, a biography, in short, which will take its place as one of the important studies of American social reformers.

Columbia University. MERLE CURTI.

Lincoln's Rise to Power. By WILLIAM BARINGER. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1937. Pp. xi, 373. $4.00.)

IN choosing a title for his detailed chronicling of Lincoln's career from the nomination for the senatorship in June, 1858, to the election to the presidency in November, 1860, Mr. Baringer has emphasized his thesis that in this brief period Lincoln rose from insignificance to greatness. He credits Lincoln's rise in part to the superb generalship of Lincoln's managers

and Lincoln's own political acumen, in part to chance and political exigencies beyond anyone's control, and in part to hitherto unsuspected qualities of greatness in Lincoln himself. Mr. Baringer describes with thoroughness the building up of Lincoln's prestige through newspaper support. Yet, as a "realist", he relegates the newspaper support to relative unimportance because it is not editorials but delegates' votes that win nominations. The divine intervention theory of Bancroft he casts aside. He shows convincingly that Lincoln owed his nomination to the skillful machinations of Norman B. Judd, Illinois's national committeeman, Judge David Davis, Lincoln leader in the national convention, Richard Oglesby, candidate for governor, Orville H. Browning, Jesse Fell, Gustavus Koerner, and others. Lincoln's own handling of the politics of his campaign outranked that of his able managers.

A series of stratagems contributed to ultimate success. Lincoln headquarters issued counterfeit tickets to organized rooters, who were packed into the places normally held by Seward shouters while the Seward cheerers paraded on the crucial morning. Gubernatorial candidates from doubtful states whispered it about that they would withdraw if Seward was nominated. The ideas that Seward could not carry the doubtful states and that Lincoln was the most "available" of the anti-Seward candidates were skillfully propagated. Finally, a series of deals was made whereby key delegations were won on promise of plums for their office-hungry leaders. Mr. Baringer thinks Lincoln's order to make no commitments was merely the cleverest strategem of all. He points out that Lincoln must have known his managers would ignore it, as they did, that it publicly cleared Lincoln's skirts of responsibility for bargains without which he could not have been nominated, and that he did keep the promises made. Indeed, Mr. Baringer pronounces David Davis thoroughly unscrupulous and points out that Lincoln knew him too well not to know this. But he excuses the political tricks on the ground that without them good men cannot get into office.

Clever campaigning would have availed little, however, had a series of fortunate circumstances not aided. Indeed, Mr. Baringer calls Douglas Lincoln's Warwick. The 1858 debates gave Lincoln his national audience. Desire to visit his son in New England led to a fortunate Eastern speaking tour. Seward, though the great party leader, might lose votes. "Availability" was more important in the four great doubtful states than capability in office after election. An Easterner could not carry the West. Cameron was a mere boss who could win no votes outside Pennsylvania. Chase was too radical; McLean, too old. Bates was really a Democrat and lived in a state Republicans could not carry. Read of Pennsylvania and Seward were unpopular with the Know-Nothings; Bates, with foreigners because of Know-Nothingism. Lincoln's views were too little known to cause trouble. Douglas's candidacy suggested Lincoln to oppose him.

Seward could not live down his early radicalism; Bates, his conservatism. Lincoln sat happily in the middle of the road. Baringer is, however, no debunker. The Lincoln he pictures is a master of style and argument and a philosopher of parts, well read, honest, courageous, statesmanlike. Out of obscurity a real leader emerges. Without the quality that the crisis brought out in Lincoln, happy circumstance and clever politics could not have raised him to power.

Mr. Baringer has used the available manuscript collections of several of Lincoln's contemporaries. The Lincoln collection is, of course, closed to everyone. He used exhaustively the files of the *Illinois State Journal* and the *Chicago Press and Tribune,* though strangely in an otherwise full bibliography there is no information about the newspapers used. For the most part he has merely employed more exhaustively than his predecessors already printed materials. There is no startlingly new material. His contribution lies in the exhaustiveness of his treatment of this brief but important period and the new interpretations he presents. He is more realistic and less fearful in facing facts hitherto avoided than have been other writers save Sandburg and Beveridge. It is to be hoped that someone will now carry Lincoln through the presidency in this spirit. In spite of the excellence of this study, Mr. Baringer cannot hope to satisfy in this larger task unless he can conquer defects of a style that affects the lack of dignity of a journalist without attaining a good journalist's verve and brilliance. Sometimes the writing is bad, sometimes merely dull. It never attains the simple impressiveness of the Lincoln whom it describes.

The University of North Carolina. HOWARD K. BEALE.

Jefferson Davis, the Unreal and the Real. By ROBERT MCELROY, Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor of American History in Oxford University, Fellow of the Queen's College, Sometime Edwards Professor in Princeton University. Two volumes. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1937. Pp. xiii, 368; 369-783. $8.00.)

PROFESSOR McElroy has given us a more liberal view of Jefferson Davis than any other writer has done. Mrs. Davis was naturally partisan, like most others who wrote about Civil War leaders before 1914. Since then a realistic presentation of the problems involved has been more frequent and sectionalism not quite so striking.

The treatment of Jefferson Davis before he became a member of Congress is quite revealing as to his character and patriotism. He is shown to have been a more gentle and forgiving man than one has been disposed to think. The author has not worked out carefully the attitude of Davis to the Robert J. Walker repudiation scheme of 1840-43. He makes it clear that Davis was opposed to repudiation but does not show too much of the details of the struggle over Mississippi's disreputable conduct. Perhaps the evidence has been destroyed.

The treatment of Davis's work in the Senate, his positive but very friendly relations to opponents, and his succession to the Calhoun philosophy and leadership, after the famous struggle of 1850, modifies the traditional view of the man who was to be president of the Confederacy. Davis's opposition to secession after Lincoln's election and his efforts to avoid a war and even get the Southern states back into the Union are clearly treated. But the speeches made on his way back to Mississippi after resigning his place in the Senate, as also his letter of November 10, 1860, to the Charleston *Mercury*—proof of Davis's fear of a long war—are not noted. The chapters, "Farewell to the Senate" and "Drafted into the Presidency", give one a picture of the opportunities and blunders of that era which will help historians of the future to realize how little public men really understand the problems and dangers with which they must deal.

The critical four years in Richmond are described in most interesting chapters. The blunders of Lincoln, the military character of Joseph E. Johnston, and Robert E. Lee's leadership are carefully treated; but Lee's statement that an error of his own lost the battle of Gettysburg is not noted. However, the author makes it clear that Southern victory might have been won if Atlanta had not been captured before the election of 1864. This was the fault perhaps of Davis, who removed Joseph E. Johnston upon the urge of Georgia politicians and put a man in command who quickly risked everything in a battle against Sherman.

When Lee was about to surrender at Appomattox, the Confederate president undertook to escape and hurried off to Danville and then Charlotte, hoping to collect an army west of the Mississippi, where he might prolong the struggle till England should recognize the South—a hopeless undertaking, as Johnston, once more in command, in North Carolina, urged. He and Sherman were ready to settle things in the generous way Lincoln had proposed a few days before. But the President of the United States was assasinated, and the people of the North were ready to execute Davis if he could be caught. It was a critical moment for a leader who had been engaged for four years in a war which he had opposed. In a few days he was captured and carried to Fortress Monroe, where he was held in prison more than two years.

The author treats these events and their causes in three of his most interesting chapters: "The Scapegoat", "Second Year of Prison Life", and "Why Davis was Never Tried". It was at the end of the most terrible war the United States had ever known. Sectional hatreds, factional controversies, and arbitrary conduct marked this era, and Davis was lucky to escape execution for a crime which he had never dreamed of encouraging. He had actually imprisoned a man who had suggested Lincoln's assassination.

When the Supreme Court released Davis in 1869, he was free to go back to Mississippi, where he might try farming again. He went, however, on

a visit to Europe and upon his return became president of an insurance company operating in the South. Later his Brierfield estate was restored to him, and while there he wrote his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government,* a work not unlike Nicolay and Hay's *Life of Abraham Lincoln.* He later went to Beauvoir, Mississippi, where the last years of a tragic career were spent.

The University of Chicago. WILLIAM E. DODD.

The Civil War in the United States. By KARL MARX and FREDERICK ENGELS. Edited by RICHARD ENMALE. (New York: International Publishers. 1937. Pp. xxv, 325. $3.00.)

Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy, 1865-1876. By JAMES S. ALLEN. [A History of the American People, Richard Enmale, Editor.] (*Ibid.* Pp. 256. $2.00.)

THAT Karl Marx and his famous associate were keen commentators upon the events and issues of the Civil War is evident from this compilation of articles written from September, 1861, to December, 1862, for the New York *Tribune* and the Vienna *Presse* and of selections from the correspondence which the two men carried on with each other throughout the war. The articles, officially credited to Marx, were prepared with the close collaboration of Engels; they represent an effort to explain, on the one hand, the Anglo-American complications of the struggle to an American audience and, on the other, the issues and developments in the contest to an Austrian public.

The seven *Tribune* items undertook to refute the pro-Confederate position of the politically dominant forces in England. Marx boldly proclaimed the natural sympathies of the English working class for "the only popular government in the world" (p. 48); he challenged the hypocrisy of the "yellow plushes" of the London press in demanding an explicit abolitionist war; and he admitted that the Trent affair was "an international blunder the vindication of which might realize the boldest hopes of the rebels" (p. 41). His *Tribune* articles close on February 1, 1862, with the declaration that "an English war for the slavocrats" was "now out of question" (p. 54). Marx had an adequate idea of the relative significance of cotton and corn in Anglo-American relations but—strangely enough—not of the importance of British investments in the United States and of the trade which, he points out, experienced little tariff obstruction before 1861.

The material in the thirty-five *Presse* articles, with much duplication, was probably more basic, explaining the issues in and behind the Civil War and the chief developments in the struggle. To Marx it was "a war of conquest for the extension and perpetuation of slavery" (pp. 73, 79), waged by a section that could claim neither an adequate geographical "nor a moral unity" (p. 72) and that was bent, under the leadership of a slaveholding oligarchy, upon "not a dissolution of the Union, but a *reorganiza-*

tion of it . . . *on the basis of slavery*" (p. 80). The personal correspondence of Marx and Engels suggests a livelier tempo of interest reflecting careful study of all the newspapers—including Southern—they could get at the London coffee houses. Engels keenly observed military movements and strategy and, gauging developments in these terms, had many periods of gloom, if not despair. Marx, however, persisted in his optimism, making allowances for how a war would be conducted by "a *bourgeois* republic" (p. 255). "In the end", he declared, "the North will make war seriously, adopt revolutionary methods"; he suggested that a single Negro regiment "would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves" (pp. 252-53). In this and other particulars time showed him to have been a good prophet.

If the editor of the Vienna *Presse* felt it necessary in January, 1862, to ask Marx "to take into account an Austrian bourgeois public", the same sort of suggestion might more pointedly have been offered to Mr. Allen—but then the whole point to his book would have been lost. His study of Reconstruction is a frank attempt "to revaluate the subject along Marxist-Leninist lines". In this he seems to go far beyond his master. After one gets over the strain of identifying well-known forces under the terminology of the modern Marxian, one begins to wonder just what has been contributed that the scorned "liberal" has not included in his picture. The battle for democracy for the Negro is slightly illuminated, with greater justice to a race that has too often—perhaps even here—been appraised under emotional stress. But the shifting of classes and of sectional groupings during this dynamic period is largely presented from the fruits of historical scholarship that lack the approved terminology. If there are those who will take their historical medicine only in the form of red-coated pills, one should perhaps encourage those who provide the prescription.

Western Reserve University. ARTHUR C. COLE.

Johnson Newlon Camden: A Study in Individualism. By FESTUS P. SUMMERS. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1937. Pp. xi, 605. $5.00.)

THE career of J. N. Camden (1828-1908) is to be understood in terms of the remarkable growth of business enterprise beginning with the Civil War. In West Virginia he had a virgin field, industrial and political, for his exploitation—a new commonwealth possessing rich and varied natural resources. Camden helped to prepare the way for and participated in the era of "big business". In oil, coal, lumber, and railroads he began projects which later entered consolidations under the aegis of others. Following the absorption of his own operations, he became the West Virginia lieutenant of Standard Oil. He was an active agent in the kind of maneuvers which afterwards provoked antitrust legislation—merging of competing companies, negotiation of rebate agreements with railroads, lobbying at Washington.

One may learn much about the period of industrial expansion by reading this record of a single resourceful participant. Most of the material has been drawn from the Camden papers in the West Virginia University Library, estimated at some hundred thousand pieces. It is not hard to understand the economically unmoral character of such a figure. It is improper to apply too rigidly to him and his colleagues the wisdom of hindsight. They were pioneers. Though with methods none too scrupulous, they did explore resources and contrive means of exploiting them. There was waste of valuable materials, some of which will never be restored. The waste in the initial phase of unco-ordinated effort these enterprisers succeeded in reducing through consolidation which many times became monopoly. Subject to limitations, they were in their way economic planners, and it is surprising in what degree pursuit of profit coincided with public advantage. These men acquired a notion of the technical advantages of co-operation. We may say that they were guilty of collusion, but it was generally collusion for sensible economic ends. The conscientious people who at present are saying that large-scale enterprise should be broken up could take economic lessons from the business buccaneers of fifty years ago.

Mr. Summers has made good use of the economic material in the collection of papers which he had at hand. He might have drawn more upon the economic history of the period and upon the careers of Camden's contemporaries in order to place his subject in perspective. The wealth of accurate detail involved an immense amount of work, but there is too little by way of estimate and comparison.

Far too many pages are devoted to politics, for Camden's inveterate activity in campaigns and his history in the United States Senate were undistinguished, unless the latter is dignified by his agency in the long-and-short-haul clause of the Interstate Commerce Act. The lengthy accounts of local elections are tiresome and lead nowhere. The literary style of the book is uneven; in some stretches it is loose and stilted, and in others compact and rapid.

The Johns Hopkins University. BROADUS MITCHELL.

The Monroe Doctrine, 1867-1907. By DEXTER PERKINS, Watson Professor of History in the University of Rochester. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1937, the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 480. $3.50.)

THE previous two volumes by Professor Perkins on the Monroe Doctrine, describing its diplomatic origins and its history until 1867 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII, 416; XXXIX, 140), made him the acknowledged authority on that subject. In those volumes he was able by laborious multiarchival research to make important contributions to history, particularly in dem-

onstrating, from their hitherto unexploited archives, that the powers of the Holy Alliance were too divided in their own interests to make any joint intervention possible in the New World to sustain Spain's sovereignty over her colonies, and that the only possible danger, from France, was stopped by Canning's ultimatum in 1823. For the period covered by the present volume the foreign archives were too restricted for historical research to make possible any notable contributions to historical knowledge. With one exception—that of the Venezuela debt crisis of 1902-1903—Professor Perkins had to content himself with interpreting well-known facts and pronouncing his opinions on them. The opinions of such a distinguished historian, weighed carefully after a judicious review of evidence (including the published and unpublished archives of the United States government), will stand, this reviewer is convinced, in nearly all of their broad generalizations—that by 1907 the Monroe Doctrine had come to mean, in addition to its pristine dicta, a veto on all transfers of territory in the New World to non-American powers; to justify American control of an Isthmian canal; to compel arbitration of a boundary dispute between a European and an American power; to condemn American diplomatic activity outside the American continents; to be regarded as "unhappily" a reservation to an international instrument (the Hague Peace Convention) for the consolidation of international peace; the basis (from 1904) for American intervention in the affairs of states of the New World; and above all, "a cherished, an indispensable political formula".

These conclusions are not new, but they are well derived and superbly written. Except for quite a touch of sarcasm, the chapters read like lectures in the best English tradition and not like the polished mosaic of documentary research that characterized the first and to a certain extent the second volume. As has been said, this difference is inevitable from the nature of the materials available. In dealing with the Venezuela crisis of 1902 the author seems to have secured a limited use of German and British archives for a period of a few months in 1902-1903. In Berlin he picked up a few documentary crumbs not gathered even by Alfred Vagts, material which does not change the picture presented by that author's "monumental researches", as Perkins rightly calls them. In Canterbury he was able to dip into the dispatches of the British embassy in Washington for these months and to present a valuable conclusion: that European, particularly British, diplomacy suggested the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. The student of American diplomacy may therefore conclude, at least this reviewer does, that the two most embarrassing formulas of American diplomacy, the Open Door and the Roosevelt Corollary, were prompted by shrewd British suggestions.

As is the case in any excellent book full of opinion and interpretation—there is too little of the latter in contemporary American historiography—

some points, many points, will provoke dissent. The reviewer, for example, feels some doubt about these words of Mr. Perkins: "it is a fact which can be stated with some degree of assurance that it [the German government] harbored no aggressive designs in the New World". "Attempted" would be safer than "harbored", as the material reviewed on pages 301-18 and the phraseology on page 463 suggest.

The author persists in calling the Monroe Doctrine "the great American shibboleth". Many Americans in both continents will continue to believe in the Monroe Doctrine as a fundamental concept of American foreign policy—the dogma of independence in the New World. If liberty itself is a shibboleth, the author has the right name for the Monroe Doctrine.

Yale University. SAMUEL F. BEMIS

The Origins of the Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson. By HARLEY NOTTER. [The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, The Johns Hopkins University.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. Pp. vi, 695. $4.50.)

WOODROW Wilson believed himself so much better prepared to deal with domestic than with international issues that he remarked to a friend, while President-elect, that it would be "the irony of fate" if his administration had to deal chiefly with foreign affairs. The problems of foreign policy which soon crowded upon him were certainly as novel and as varied as those faced by any of his predecessors. Yet it is Mr. Notter's thesis that "all the essential elements of thought governing Wilson's foreign policy were determined, and in several instances specific policies were formulated, before he took the oath of office as President of the United States" (p. v). To substantiate this view he first carefully analyzes Wilson's thinking before he assumed the presidency and then proceeds to a more detailed study of the development of his foreign policy from 1913 to our entry into the World War. The result is a substantial and well-written contribution to the literature both of American diplomacy and of American political thought.

The work derives its importance not from extensive publication of new documents but, as might be expected, from a painstaking and lucid analysis of the large body of material already in print. Although Mr. Notter served for two years as assistant to Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, the President's authorized biographer, the new material drawn from the Wilson files is confined to certain early writings of minor importance. Good use, however, has been made of some interesting new documents from the House papers.

In Mr. Notter's view, three elements dominated Wilsonian policy: morality, as an absolute and immutable principle; belief in the capacity and the right of people to rule themselves; and the conception that the United States had a special mission to realize an ideal of liberty and to work for peace and the happiness of men everywhere (pp. 651-54). Wilson "entered

office with an intention to produce a radical reform of foreign policy which would give America world leadership in standards and policy, lift her diplomacy to the best levels for mankind, cause her to act for the progress of mankind, and advance American ideals rather than the contracts of a narrow circle of financiers" (p. 228). Until after the World War began, however, "he had not expressed a belief that world peace must rest upon physical force; he had seemed to rely wholly upon enlightened opinion" (p. 654). Nowhere was the effect of war experience upon his thought more striking than with regard to force. He became the first of American Presidents to demand a navy "incomparably the most adequate" in the world.

In the evolution of Wilson's thought his debt to England and to English thinkers is frequently apparent, especially to Burke and to Bagehot, to the latter of whom, Mr. Notter suggests, was due Wilson's preference for informal channels of contact in foreign policy (p. 19). He takes pains to stress the shortcomings of this informal diplomacy, especially where Colonel House is concerned, and to point out the extent to which the roving Texan was dominated by British influences and the important differences between his views and conduct and the wishes of his friend the President (pp. 467, 491-94, 574).

In his well-balanced account of American diplomacy during the war Mr. Notter justly observes that both the President and the American people had become admittedly partisan within the first six months, "while the dominant dispute in their foreign affairs was over the British trade restrictions, and *before* any major controversy developed over German naval policy" (p. 382). Nowhere are his caution and good judgment more apparent than in the discussion of the difficult question of how far economic ties were instrumental in forcing Wilson to make war. To this, he says, "no definite answer can be given" (p. 645). The financial plight of the Allies "may have exerted influence,—on the question of *when* to go to war rather than on the question of *whether* to go to war" (p. 635). Economic interest was involved in the decision for war "but was not by itself accepted by Wilson as a sufficient basis for war" (p. 646).

Williams College. JAMES P. BAXTER, 3D.

The Origins of American Intervention in North Russia, 1918. By LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY, Professor of European History at the University of Maryland. With a Foreword by James Brown Scott. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 140. $2.00.)

THE history of the Allied intervention in Russia, both in its diplomatic and its military aspects, has not as yet received the attention its deserves. Compared with some other phases of the Russian Revolution, it has been treated in relatively few works of real value. In his well-written and amply documented book Professor Strakhovsky has made a welcome contribution to the literature of the subject. He has limited himself to a monographic

treatment of American intervention in North Russia in its initial stages and with regard to the Murmansk region only. But within these limits he has made full use of the available evidence, including some unpublished material such as the papers of Lieutenant Commander Vesselago and of the late Colonel Riggs.

The principal contention of Dr. Strakhovsky, that the Allied intervention in North Russia was dictated primarily by military considerations, is presented in a thoroughly convincing fashion. His study also shows that in this earlier period military considerations were of equal importance to the other side as well. And yet, would it be too much to suppose that, both in the case of the Allies and the Bolsheviks, the mutual incompatibility of the respective "political philosophies" they stood for had something to do with their inability to come to an agreement?

Dr. Strakhovsky emphasizes the fact that the Murmansk soviet invited the Allies to help them to resist the anticipated German attack, and this, no doubt, was one of the peculiarities of the local situation. But one wonders whether it should not have been stressed that the Murmansk soviet itself was of a somewhat peculiar nature. Headed as it was by a lieutenant commander of the imperial navy, a major general of the imperial army, and a revolutionary who was not a communist, to what extent was it really representative of the sentiment of the local population? At least two observers from the anti-Bolshevik side, whose memoirs could be added to Dr. Strakhovsky's bibliography (S. Dobrovolsky in *Arkhiv Russkoi Revoliutsii,* III, and V. Marushevsky in *Beloe Delo,* I-III), are inclined to give a negative answer to this question.

In his conclusion Dr. Strakhovsky states that the American participation "had tied somewhat the unscrupulous hands of France and Great Britain" (p. 107), and yet we learn from his own study that both the French and the British exercised strong pressure upon the American government to induce it to take part in the intervention. The contradiction might be more apparent than real, but it is a point that could bear further elucidation. Moreover, even if one accepts Dr. Strakhovsky's theory of the "Franco-British plot to dismember Russia" (and in my opinion he tends to exaggerate the significance of the agreement of December 23, 1917), would it not be more logical to conclude that the "plot" was frustrated by the ultimate collapse of the intervention rather than by the American participation in it?

While expressing my doubts on these controversial points, I realize that they do not detract from the value of Dr. Strakhovsky's able study. Let us hope that he will extend his research to some other phases of the intervention policy.

Harvard University. MICHAEL KARPOVICH.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

Fornvännen; Meddelanden från K. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien. Under Redaktion av SIGURD CURMAN. *1937.* Årgang 32. (Stockholm, Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalt, 1937, pp. 380.) Most of the articles in the 1937 volume of *Fornvännen* are of concern to the archaeologist and the antiquarian, but four of them have a wider appeal. From studies of remains of Roman glassware in the Scandinavian North, Gunnar Ekblom contends that the source of most of that ware was not Italy or Gaul but the lower Rhine to the southwest and the Black Sea to the southeast. Ernfrid Jäfvert contributes a lengthy article on shoes and shoemaking technique in medieval Sweden (very fully illustrated). In the medieval Västgöta provincial law there is a passage, "taga och vräka konung", the meaning of which has been much disputed; Gustaf Holmgren here argues that it has reference not to the legal actions abstractly considered but to the ceremonial procedures attending the hailing or dethroning of a king. Sven Tunberg cites evidence to show that the word Hälsingland, now restricted to a single Swedish province, once included the whole region on the west side of the Gulf of Bothnia; that is, it loosely designated all the new settlements beyond the country of the Svear. O. J. FALNES.

The Origin and Nature of Constitutional Government. By HUGH MCDOWALL CLOKIE. (London, Harrap, 1936, pp. 156, 5*s*.) Professor Clokie's little book sets out to clear the ground preparatory to a critical study of parliamentary government and of its recent rivals. He also has in preparation a history of party organization and practices in Great Britain. Here he provides a rapid summary of what seem to him the more important popular errors concerning parliamentary origins, bicameralism, the two party system, and the evolution of the cabinet, along with a recital of their correction by scholars since Stubbs (oddly enough, omitting the work of L. B. Namier). He then proceeds to an elaboration of his own definition of constitutionalism as government according to popular law and concludes with a summary of the spread of constitutional government in the world. The book would be a helpful guide for beginning students and politically inquisitive general readers. J. B. BREBNER.

Kings' Daughters. By JANETTA C. SORLEY. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. 287, $2.50.) The kings' daughters of Janetta C. Sorley are "seven women whose pleasure it was to endow learning by benefactions to Cambridge" from the thirteenth century through the sixteenth. Beginning with Eleanor of Castile, queen of Edward I, who made the modest gift of fifty marks to the university, the author has traced the succession of some who were spiritually, some actually, her descendants: Elizabeth de Burgh, the lady of Clare; Marie de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke; Margaret of Anjou, queen of Henry VI; Elizabeth Wydville, queen of Edward IV; Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby; Frances Sidney, countess of Sussex—their gifts resulting in the establishment of the new colleges of Pembroke and Sidney Sussex and in the re-establishment of old foundations on a different basis, as happened with the colleges of Clare, Queens',

Christ's, and St. John's. The author's concern has been "to inquire not only what manner of persons these were but also what prompted them to this special form of 'personal munificence'"; and it is in this approach that her chief contribution lies. The separate accounts of the benefactors are valuable as sources of information, especially the chapters on Elizabeth de Burgh and Frances Sidney. The reviewer was sorry to find in this latter story a further perpetration of the confusion about the Haringtons of Exton and Kelston. Frances Sidney's nephew and executor for the founding of Sidney Sussex College was John Harington of Exton, not the translator of *Orlando Furioso,* John Harington of Kelston. But that is a minor detail. The accounts on the whole are accurately and sympathetically given in a style somewhat reminiscent of the old chronicles. The lack of notes and references will be regretted by those readers who would like to follow up sources.

RUTH HUGHEY.

New England and New College, Oxford: A Link in Anglo-American Relations. By DAVID OGG. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 24, 85 cents.) This is a succinct and charming account of the history of New College, Oxford, of William of Wykeham its founder, and of a distinguished graduate of the college, the Puritan worthy John White of Dorchester, projector of Massachusetts. In White Mr. Ogg rightly sees a seventeenth century link between two Englands, the Old and the New. It is a subject for at least faint regret that in the course of his pages Mr. Ogg did not avail himself of the opportunity to refer in passing to Mrs. Rose-Troup's comprehensive biography of White, the scholarly contribution to which we are obligated for our knowledge of the creative personality whom Mr. Ogg justly honors. FULMER MOOD.

The University of Prague: Modern Problems of the German University in Czechoslovakia. By GRAY C. BOYCE and W. H. DAWSON. (London, Robert Hale, 1937, pp. ix, 117, *2s. 6d.*) This monograph is timely in view of the world interest in the struggles in Czechoslovakia. It portrays the colorful role which the University of Prague has played in the cultural and educational development of Bohemia during the past six centuries. The problem of nationalities was an old one to Prague but became increasingly acute during the nineteenth century, culminating in the founding in 1882 of the dual Karl-Ferdinand University. The treaties following the World War disrupted the amicable relations thus established, and the authors' story of the humiliations heaped upon the German branch by the victorious Czechs throws light upon the present conflict of races in Czechoslovakia. One feels, however, that Czech abuses are overstressed while possible German offenses are dismissed rather lightly in a closing paragraph by the statement, "there was a time when . . . the Germans themselves were not slow to follow the policy of ascendancy in Bohemia". Such episodes as the exodus of the Germans en masse in 1409, after they had set fire to the theological college, should not be passed over so lightly. The book is readably written, impartial on the whole, and should be useful in the college library. E. G. SCHWIEBERT.

Les sultans poètes, 1451-1808. By A. NAVARIAN. (Paris, Geuthner, 1936, pp. 148, 30 fr.) In the preface the author recalls Voltaire's remark that he distrusted the Turks because they had no poets, a statement which may be taken as a reflection of either the malice or ignorance of the great propagandist. M. Navarian proposes to counteract the view of Voltaire and show that many of

the sultans, from Mohammed II to the present pretender, not only patronized poets but wrote poetry themselves. Compared with Gibb's monumental work on Ottoman poetry, which he ignores, his essay is of no importance. It is really nothing more than a loose collation of anecdotal material on the various sultans, interspersed with a few samples of their own poetry and of that of their contemporaries. Countless poets are mentioned, but the uninitiated would have a hard time in deriving from the book any clear idea of the aims and methods of the Asiatic School. Endless digressions in the footnotes, on sufism, the shia, the caliphate (a tissue of misstatements), and kindred subjects, serve merely to divert and confuse the reader. The subject of the book is inspiring and important, but the treatment of it is almost worthless. W. L. LANGER.

The Treatment of Ancient Legend and History in Bodmer. By ANTHONY SCENNA. [Columbia University Germanic Studies.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. 168, $2.50.) Bodmer's treatment of ancient legend and history in his dramas has hitherto been neglected in the study of the Swiss professor's literary activity. A careful analysis of every play, its ancient sources and Bodmer's changes and departures from the originals, brings forth the cogent conclusion that Bodmer, who distinguished little between ancient history and legend, emphasized in particular those political and ethical ideas of the Greeks and Romans which coincided with his own views on democracy and eighteenth century autocracy. Types drawn from ancient history became in his hand a weapon both to champion political democracy and to assail despotism and autocracy. In connection with the source material, one political drama, *Julius Caesar,* presents some difficulties (p. 123). Even Bodmer himself left no statement concerning the sources. But since the play is full of Caesar's scornful diatribes against the republic and liberty, the reviewer ventures to suggest Lucan's *Pharsalia* as a possible source. It would be curious, indeed, if Bodmer, who was well versed in classical literature, had not been familiar with a popular poem characterized by an almost rabid republicanism and anti-Caesarian bias, a poem in which Caesar is painted as a monster and a villain. Dr. Scenna's study is well written and well documented.

JACOB HAMMER.

America in English Fiction, 1760-1800: The Influences of the American Revolution. By ROBERT BECHTOLD HEILMAN. [Louisiana State University Studies.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1937, pp. ix, 480, $3.00.) In the making of this book Professor Heilman's chief problems were two: the reading and analysis of the vast body of English fiction written during the last four decades of the eighteenth century; and the segregation and criticism of basic points of view toward America. The first problem he has solved, I believe, with finality. His patience in assembling all possible evidence is worthy of praise. The classification of his data is more questionable. I think that at times he complicates some rather simple verdicts of English fiction concerning America. To cite only one example, the distinction in chapters IV and V between fiction dealing with the Revolution merely as narrative and fiction dealing with it as narrative but also including opinions seems to me an over-refinement. The reader appreciates Professor Heilman's careful separations of the various attitudes, but from such partitions of thought there often results an air of repetition and overlapping. In all fairness, I must mention this fault, but the final impression remains: a difficult task thoroughly and competently done for all time. STANLEY T. WILLIAMS.

Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792. By P. CAMPBELL. Edited, with an Introduction by H. H. LANGTON, and with Notes by H. H. LANGTON and W. F. GANONG. [Publications of the Champlain Society.] (Toronto, the Society, 1937, pp. xxi, 326, xii.) This fine new edition of a rare, expensive work contains the shrewd and interesting observations of a Scottish investigator as to lands examined for their agricultural potentialities in the course of a circuit from New Brunswick overland to Quebec, thence through Upper Canada to Niagara and the Grand River valley, across the Genesee country to Albany, down to New York and neighboring New Jersey, and back to New Brunswick by sea. Everywhere he went he found brother Scots whose hospitality he enjoyed and whose candor aided him greatly. His report throws useful light on why the Canadas were more attractive than New York to North American westward migrants at this time, on the character of American frontier agriculture, on the strenuous selective processes to which their migrations subjected the loyalists of the American Revolution, and on the Iroquois after their removal to Canada. The editorial additions are excellent. J. B. BREBNER.

The Private Letters of Princess Lieven to Prince Metternich, 1820-1826. Edited and with a Biographical Foreword by PETER QUENNELL, assisted in translation by DILYS POWELL. (New York, Dutton, 1938, pp. xxii, 386, $3.75.) This volume substantially strengthens the claim that its author, Russian ambassadress in London, surpasses any unofficial female diplomatist of the modern age. It possesses interest for the student of English history and for the historian of the diplomacy of the post-Napoleonic era. Madame Lieven dutifully reported to her chief Continental lover, the self-styled coachman of Europe, what she saw, heard, and thought. English cabinet politics and trends in popular opinion are sandwiched in with bits of authoritative diplomatic information and gossip. Little new light is shed on her famous mission of 1825 to Russia, though she penetrated deeply into Alexander I's political plans, which she intended to share with Metternich but never did. References to economic affairs and plebian social life are disappointingly rare. She wrote with an eye to posterity. "My letters have been a most faithful record of everything that came to my knowledge" (p. 375). She deserves well of the historical fraternity. From these letters emerges, too, a fuller understanding of her own personality: her bluntness and arrogance, her genius for conjugal infidelity, her lively interest in music and contemporary literature. The editor has performed his exacting task admirably. In a gayly written foreword he presents a sharply etched portrait of the writer and reveals how he came into possession of the fragile notebooks containing excerpts from her correspondence with Metternich. In doing the letters into English from Madame Lieven's French he has endeavored to preserve the original style. Pithy summaries, sometimes a trifle misleading, introduce each of the four sections into which the correspondence is divided. How, apart from internal evidence, Mr. Quennell determined the authenticity of the manuscripts is not disclosed. ARTHUR J. MAY.

1848. By FÉLIX PONTEIL. (Paris, Colin, 1937, pp. 224, 15 fr.) This small volume is decidedly worthy of careful reading. Taking France as the focal point of the revolutionary preparation, Professor Ponteil attempts successfully to make a survey of the events and results of the insurrections of 1848. He lays greater emphasis on the importance of the clubs than has been done hitherto. He also contrasts the changes in ideas which distinguished the previous revolutions

from the movements of 1848. Of these, he asserts, the greatest was the addition of "l'égalité des jouissances à l'égalité des droits". Different in their aims, the various uprisings of 1848 sought for liberty and unity. Unity France already had; liberty she believed she had acquired. Germany, Italy, Austria desired both. The failure of the social revolution in France Professor Ponteil attributes to the fact that the revolutionaries were not in accord. This is true, but is it not equally true that the discordant revolutionary sects lacked really capable and experienced leadership? And in spite of failure, 1848 was not entirely without effect. The "quarante-huitard" became the man who built the basis for the future triumph of democracy. In other words, 1848 was a step and not a lost effort; it rid revolutionary theory of many of the out-worn ideas of what revolution should be; it showed revolutionists the need for practical action as well as philosophic basis. Out of it came many of the convictions which led to the success of 1870 in France and in Italy. J. M. S. ALLISON.

The Influence of Border Troubles on Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1876-1910. By ROBERT D. GREGG. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, pp. 200, $2.00.) This is a doctor's dissertation, thorough, well-documented, and heavy, written upon a topic already familiar to three or four specialists in the field—a subject, moreover, which cannot be detached from the other issues arising in United States-Mexican relations during the period: the promotion and protection of American commerce and investments. The research project, therefore, was not a happy choice and tends to illustrate the futility of some of our academic exercises. For this, however, the author is less responsible than the professor who assigned him the task. Dr. Gregg discovered a few new sources of evidence and cast several small rays of light on the familiar theme of frontier lawlessness, weaving his story into the broader story of the relations between the two countries for the period under considration. The beginning and end of his narrative could have been improved by an examination of two topics which he neglected: (1) the revolutionary operations of Porfirio Díaz in the United States before 1876 and (2) the activities of his bitter enemies in the United States after 1908—both topics rather closely connected with the border. The task of the reader could have been lightened by subdivisions within the long chapters, such as appear in the first chapter but were discontinued thereafter. J. FRED RIPPY.

Europas Diplomatie am Vorabend des Weltkrieges: Eine Bilanz der Wissenschaftlichen Forschung über die Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges und die Julikrise 1914. By ERNST ANRICH. (Berlin, Quaderverlag August Bach, 1937, pp. 85. 2 M.) Anrich is already known to students of prewar diplomacy for his substantial study of the Yugoslav problem and his monographic treatment of British policy in July, 1914. The present brochure is based in large measure on these works and is intended to be an essay in synthesis designed for teachers, journalists, and others who ought to have some knowledge of the findings of modern research. The emphasis is placed less on details or even narrative than on the larger lines of development. If anything, it is rather too metaphysical, though the basic argument, that England, which ought to have assumed the leadership in the organization of Europe for peace after the collapse of the Bismarckian system, allowed itself to become enmeshed in the dangerous policies of the Franco-Russian Alliance, is well reasoned. The discussion of the political implications of the Moltke Plan, which rests upon

some illuminating recent German studies, is also of considerable value. Altogether the author has succeeded in his purpose and has kept himself free from the distortions characteristic of many writings on the subject. W. L. LANGER.

Malaysia: A Study in Direct and Indirect Rule. By RUPERT EMERSON. [Bureau of International Research, Harvard University and Radcliffe College.] (New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xii, 536, $5.00.) Dealing with important areas to which competent scholars have given too little attention, this volume is a valuable addition to the literature of colonial administration and policy. The author's chief purpose was "to explore the history, structure, and working of the political systems established by the British in the Malay Peninsula and, in a comparative fashion, to give at least some indication of the very different systems of the Dutch in the neighboring Indies" (p. 8). He has made extensive use of printed materials, official and secondary, and a year's residence in changing Malaysia afforded opportunities for fruitful observation. Unfortunately, none of the available unpublished sources were consulted, a fact which accounts for the relative lack of originality in the earlier historical sections of the book. The footnotes give many references, but there is no bibliography. The author is most at home in describing the various political systems of British Malaya. Following an involved introduction and two brief chapters on British expansion are four excellent, substantial ones treating the Federated Malay States, the so-called independent states, the Straits Settlements, and the important developments of the past decade. Much of this treatment is historical in character; it is objective, critical, and discerning. To the Netherlands Indies only two sketchy chapters are devoted. In a stimulating final section attention is given to the broader aspects of European rule. Although the author considers that the period of Western domination has been both necessary and beneficial to the Malaysian peoples, he states that neither the British nor the Dutch have shown much regard for their welfare. Despite interesting variations in form and method, there is basically little difference between direct and indirect rule. The Dutch, however, have done more than the British to prepare the inhabitants for a measure of political independence.

G. LEIGHTON LAFUZE.

Handbook of Latin American Studies: A Guide to the Material published in 1936 on Anthopology, Art, Economics, Education, Folklore, Geography, Government, History, International Relations, Law, Language, and Literature. Edited by LEWIS HANKE. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1937, pp. xv, 515, $4.00.) The 1937 edition of this handbook is a welcome addition to the general bibliography on Latin America. Covering in general the same field as the 1936 edition, it is fuller and more inclusive. Of special interest are the articles at the end of the volume. The contribution of Robert S. Chamberlain on the archives of Guatemala and that of Roscoe R. Hill on the national archives of Latin America will be especially appreciated. The article by Henry J. Bruman, "The Russion Investigations on Plant Genetics in Latin America and their Bearing on Culture History", should be noted.

FRANK TANNENBAUM.

ARTICLES

CHARLES A. BEARD. A Memorandum from an Old Worker in the Vineyard. *Social Educ.*, Sept.

HENRY E. SIGERIST. Science and Democracy. *Science & Soc.*, Summer.

GUSTAVE MERCIER. La "Relation d'incertitude" et le principe de causalité. *Rev. Synthèse*, Apr.

Bertha E. Josephson. Critical Investigation versus Careless Presentation. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, July.

Walter L. Dorn. Some Problems of Contemporary Historiography. *Ibid.*

Lawrence C. Wroth. The Bibliographical Way. *Colophon*, Spring.

Donald L. Jacobus. On the Nature of Genealogical Evidence. *New Eng. Hist. and Geneal Reg.*, July.

Thomas S. Gates. The Possibilities of Philadelphia as a Center for Historical Research. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Apr.

John F. Burns. What about Military History? *Infantry Jour.*, July.

Gabriel-Louis Jaray. Perspectives historiques: L'action de l'Islam sur l'Europe. *Rev. Synthèse*, June.

Evert Barger. The Present Position of Studies in English Field-Systems. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, July.

Carlos E. Castañeda. The Beginning of University Life in America. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, July.

H. C. Schulz. The Monastic Library and Scriptorium at Ashridge. *Huntington Library Quar.*, Apr.

Auguste Leman. Le Saint-Siège et l'élection impériale du 22 décembre 1636. *Rev. Hist. Eccléс.*, July.

Camille Vallaux. Deux précurseurs de la géographie humaine: Volney et Charles Darwin. *Rev. Synthèse*, June.

Josef Körner. Die Slaven im Urteil der Deutschen Frühromantik. *Hist. Vierteljahrs.*, XXXI, no. 3.

Willis Herbert Bowen. The Earliest Treatise on Tobacco: Jacques Gohory's "Instruction sur l'herbe Petum". *Isis*, May.

A. H. Taylor. The French Fleet in the Channel, 1778 and 1779. *Mariner's Mirror*, July.

Holden Furber. The Beginnings of American Trade with India, 1784-1812. *New Eng. Quar.*, June.

Raymond Lange. Le sculpteur Houdon, premier ambassadeur de l'art français aux États-Unis. *Franco-Am. Rev.*, Spring.

Frank Monaghan. The American Drawings of Baroness Hyde de Neuville. *Ibid.*

Edward F. Hawks. The Anglican Reunion Movement and the Catholic Church. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, July.

Christopher Hill. Soviet Interpretations of the English Interregnum. *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, May.

L. A. Maverick. Chinese Influence Upon the Physiocrats. *Ec. Hist.*, Feb.

James Westfall Thompson. Edward Gibbon, 1737-1794. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, June.

William D. Guthrie. General Count de Rochambeau, Commander of the French Army in America during the American Revolution, 1780-1782. *Franco-American Rev.*, Spring.

Jules A. Baisnée. France and the Establishment of the American Hierarchy. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, July.

Richard H. Heindel. Americans and the Royal Astronomical Society. *Science*, June 24.

George Verne Blue. Anglo-French Diplomacy during the Critical Period of the Nootka Controversy, 1790. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, June.

Harris G. Warren. The Origin of General Mina's Invasion of Mexico. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, July.

Frank R. Lewis. Linnaeus, Valltravers, and Demidoff. *Proc. Linnean Soc. London*, June.

Charles Winslow Elliott. The Indispensable Conquest [the Wilkinson Expedition to Canada, 1813]. *Infantry Jour.*, July.

D. C. Harvey. The Halifax-Castine Expedition [1814]. *Dalhousie Rev.*, July.

Constantine de Grunwald. Madame de Lieven et Metternich. *Rev. Paris*, May.

Id. L'Autriche et le décabrisme. *Monde Slave*, 1938, no. 1.

E. Jones Parry. A Review of the Relations between Guizot and Lord Aberdeen, 1840-52. *History*, June.

David R. Serpell. American Consular Activities in Egypt, 1849-63. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Sept.

RODMAN W. PAUL. The Origin of the Chinese Issue in California. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Sept.

A. B. PARSON. The Beginning of the Church in Liberia. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, June.

KURT JAGOW. Das "Konigswort" Georgs V. *Berl. Monatsh.*, July.

J. H. LANDMAN. The War Debt Problem and a Solution. *World Affairs Interpreter*, July.

MAURICE DOBB. A Note on Some Aspects of the Economic Theory of Marx. *Science & Soc.*, Summer.

RUDOLF WALTER. Die japanisch-amerikanische Intervention in Sibirien. *Berl. Monatsh.*, Sept.

ELEANOR LANSING DULLES. The Bank for International Settlements in Recent Years. *Am. Ec. Rev.*, June.

RENÉ LA BRUYÈRE. L'état actuel du problème naval en Méditerranée. *Esprit Internat.*, July.

R. W. SETON-WATSON. The German Minority in Czechoslovakia. *For. Affairs*, July.

ROBERT DENHARDT. Mexican Demography. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, June.

PAYSON S. WILD. What is the Trouble with International Law? *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June.

DOCUMENTS

LEONARD E. MINS, tr. and ed. Unpublished Letters of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to Americans. *Science & Soc.*, Summer.

EM. PIGUET. Les dénombrements généraux de Refugiés au Pays de Vaud et à Berne, à la fin du XVII[e] siècle. *Bull. Soc. Hist. Protestantisme Fr.*, April.

EARL H. PRITCHARD. The Instructions of the East India Company to Lord Macartney on his Embassy to China and his Reports to the Company, 1792-4. Part I: Instructions to the Company [cont.]. *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, Apr.

With the American Fur Company in the Michilimackinac Dependencies, 1818-1822: Letters of Samuel Ashmun, Jr., and John H. Fairbank. *Moorsfield Antiq.*, May.

WILLIAM D. OVERMAN, ed. A Sidelight on the Hunters' Lodges of 1838. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, June.

C. DE GRUNWALD, ed. Russie et Autriche. I-III. Monde Slave. 1938, nos. 1, 2.

GORDON WRIGHT. Persigny and the Annexation of Nice and Savoy. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Sept.

ANCIENT HISTORY

T. R. S. Broughton

Scandinavian Archaeology. By HAAKON SHETELIG and the late HJALMAR FALK. Translated by E. V. Gordon. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. viii, 435, $7.00.) In the development of modern archaeology the Scandinavian North holds no mean place. Just over a century ago it was a Dane, C. J. Thomsen, who introduced a measure of orderliness into the youthful discipline with his clear-cut distinction between the stone, the bronze, and the iron ages, and with his suggested correlations between human remains and the fauna, flora, and geological strata in which they were uncovered. Our knowledge of man's prehistory, moreover, owes not a little to archaeological finds of Scandinavian provenance. For a number of decades Scandinavian scholars have been publishing many of the results of their fruitful investigations. It is a voluminous literature but in the main highly specialized and scattered. The English reader is fortunate in that there is now made available to him a reliable synthesis covering the whole field of Scandinavian archaeology prepared by one of Norway's foremost archaeologists who himself has made many contributions to the wealth of material he is summarizing. As here presented, the synthesis is of fully as much interest to the historian as to the archaeologist. For some time to come this work must remain a standard reference for English readers.

Tax Rolls from Karanis. Part I, Text. Edited by HERBERT CHAYYIM YOUTIE, with the collaboration of VERNE BRINSON SCHUMAN and ORSAMUS MERRILL PEARL. [University of Michigan Studies.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1936, pp. xvi, 437, plates IV, $5.00.) This volume contains the texts of three tax rolls from the village of Karanis in the Fayûm, dating from successive years in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. A description and explanation of the volume is given by Youtie in *Classical Weekly* (XXX [1937], 199-201), and this will be useful before the publication of Part II, which will contain the introduction, commentary, and indexes for the texts of Part I, as well as twenty additional fragments of Greek text. The rolls give almost complete records of the daily collections of taxes assessed in money, and it will be possible to gather much important evidence for the population and total revenue of the village and particularly for the methods of assessment and collection, for there are numerous notes of the collectors in the margins and on the verso of these rolls. Youtie and Pearl's *Note on P. Iand. VII, 141* (*A.J.P.*, LVII [1936], 465-69) is an indication of the valuable evidence in these rolls for special problems of the difficult currency used in Roman Egypt. Therefore we await eagerly the publication of Part II of this work; meanwhile we have only praise for an almost perfect publication of a text which totals 13,371 lines, a Herculean labor of decipherment.

S. L. WALLACE.

Der Gott der Makkabäer: Untersuchungen über Sinn und Ursprung der Makkabäischen Erhebung. By ELIAS BICKERMANN. (Berlin, Schocken, 1937, pp. 182, 6 M.) In this work Dr. Bickermann carries a step further his significant researches in the history of the Seleucid Empire and the Maccabean revolt. It is based upon an independent evaluation of the sources, especially those contained in the biblical books of Maccabees, to which besides the numerous notes are devoted four lengthy appendixes of some forty pages. Special attention is paid to the complex problems of chronology—the author deviates in many important details from the hitherto accepted dates—and to the authenticity of several original documents preserved in the books of Maccabees and in Josephus. In the maze of available records Dr. Bickermann detects five distinct strains, each representing a different version of the events preceding the outbreak of the revolt, which, even in the second century B.C., were the subject of extended controversy. In a fascinating chapter (pp. 36 ff.) the author shows how these conflicting versions deeply influenced medieval and modern Christian scholars and publicists—the shades of interpretation in the subsequent Jewish tradition are not mentioned—and also served to justify both revolutionary and counterrevolutionary biases. His own interpretation is to demonstrate that the persecution originated "neither from an historic accident nor from the spirit of heathendom . . . but from a party among the Jews which desired a reform of the religion of their forefathers in deviation from the monotheistic creed" (p. 8). Two maps and five illustrations effectively supplement the discussion, but the half-page index is too brief to serve any useful purpose.

SALO W. BARON.

GENERAL ARTICLES

HANS NORLING-CHRISTENSEN. Kapitler af dansk jærnalders handelshistorie. *Tilskueren*, Feb.

J. I. GELB. Studies in the Topography of Western Asia. *Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, Jan.

H. H. Rowley. Israel's Sojourn in Egypt. *Bull. John Rylands Library,* Apr.

Theodor Wählin. Ett kapitel ur "sfinxens gåta." *Ord och Bild,* 1938, no. 5.

Rudi Paret. Die Kontinuität der ägyptischen Kultur als volkskundliches Problem. *Arch. f. Religionswiss.,* XXXV, nos. 1-2.

Arno Poebel. The Names and the Order of the Old Persian and Elamite Months during the Achaemenian Period. *Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.,* Apr.

Id. Chronology of Darius' First Year of Reign. *Ibid.,* July.

B. Meissner. Die Achämenidenkönigs und das Judentum. *Sitz. Berl. Akad.,* 1938, no. 2.

A. Andrewes. Eunomia. *Class. Quar.,* Apr.

C. M. Bowra. Xenophanes and the Olympic Games. *Am. Jour. Philol.,* July.

Felix Howland. Xenophon's Ideas of Leadership. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.,* Mar.

Louis Gernet. Sur les actions commerciales en droit athénien. *Rev. Études Grec.,* Jan.

E. L. Highbarger. Theognis and the Persian Wars. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.,* LXVIII.

A. W. Gomme. Aristophanes and Politics. *Class Rev.,* July.

H. B. Dunkel. Was Demosthenes a Panhellenist? *Class. Philol.,* July.

F. M. Abel. L'ère des Séleucides. *Rev. Bibl.,* Apr.

E. Bikerman. Les Hérodiens. *Ibid.*

M. Guarducci. Una nuova confederazione cretese: Glio Orioi. *Riv. Filol.,* Mar.

A. A. Boyce. The Expiatory Rites of 207 B. C. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.,* LXVIII.

L. R. Taylor. The Opportunities for Dramatic Performances in the Time of Plautus and Terence. *Ibid.*

D. O. Robson. The Nationality of the Poet Caecilius Statius. *Am. Jour. Philol.,* July.

H. Hill. Equites and Celeres. *Class. Philol.,* July.

G. Lippold. Zu den Imagines Illustrium. *Röm. Mitteil.,* LII, nos. 1-2.

Ernst Kornemann. Zum Augustusjahr: 1. Octavians Romulusgrab; 2. Der Prinzeps als Hegemon in Osten. *Klio,* XXXI, no. 1.

Kenneth Scott. Notes on Augustus' Religious Policy. *Arch. f. Religionswiss.,* XXXV, nos. 1-2.

Marion Altman. Ruler Cult in Seneca. *Class. Philol.,* Apr.

M. St. A. Woodside. The Role of Eight Batavian Cohorts in the Events of 68-9 A. D. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.,* LXVIII.

M. A. Levi. I Principii dell'impero di Vespasiano. *Riv. Filol.,* Mar.

S. L. Mohler. The *Iuvenes* and Roman Education. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.,* LXVIII.

A. E. R. Boak. The Organization of the Guilds in Greco-Roman Egypt. *Ibid.*

Gunnar Ekholm. Handelsvägarna mellan Skandinavien och det Romerska riket. *Scandia,* Dec.

Hans Ulrich Instinsky. Septimius Severus und der Ausbau des raetischen Strassennetzes. *Klio,* XXXI, no. 1.

Harald v. Petrikovitz. Die Chronologie der Regierung Macrins. *Ibid.*

Tom B. Jones. A Chronological Problem: The Date of the Death of Carus. *Am. Jour. Philol.,* July.

Archaeological Articles

John Garstang. Exploration in Cilicia: The Neilson Expedition. *An. Arch. and Anthrop.,* XXV, nos. 1-2.

P. E. V. D. Meer. A Topography of Babylon. *Iraq,* V, no. 1.

G. and A. Horsfield. Sela-Petra, the Rock, of Edom and Nabatene. *Quar. Depart. Antiq. Palest.,* VII.

Walter R. Agard. Notes on the Siphnian Treasury Frieze. *Am. Jour. Arch.,* Mar.

John Franklin Daniel. Excavations at Kourion. *Ibid.*

Elizabeth Pierce Blegen. News Items from Athens. *Ibid.*

W. A. Campbell. The Fourth and Fifth Seasons of Excavation at Antioch-on-the-Orontes: 1935-6. *Ibid.*

A. Aymard. Une ville de la Babylonie séleucide. *Rev. Études Anc.,* Jan.

Karl Lehmann-Hartleben. Maenianum and Basilica. *Am. Jour. Philol.,* Mar.

L. A. Holland. The Shrine of the *Lares Compitales. Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.,* LXVIII.

Paul Lemerle. Palestre romaine à Philippes. *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, LXI, no. 1.
Pierre Demargue and Henri van Effenterre. Recherches à Dréros. *Ibid.*
Richard Heuberger. Die Gaesaten. *Klio*, XXXI, no. 1.

Inscriptional and Literary Sources

J. W. Jack. The Lachish Letters: Their Date and Import. *Palest. Expl. Quar.*, July.
W. F. Albright. The Oldest Hebrew Letters: The Lachish Ostraca. *Bull. Am. School Oriental Research*, Apr.
Gudmund Björck. Papyrusfynden och den grekiska litteraturhistorien. *Ord och Bild*, 1938, no. 1.
Rhys Carpenter. The Greek Alphabet Again. *Am. Jour. Arch.*, Jan.
J. H. Thiel. Solon und Pittakos. *Mnemosyne*, LXII, no. 2.
Benjamin D. Meritt. A Note on Kleon's Assessment. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, July.
E. Cavaignac. La date de l'archontat d'Eukleidas à Delphes. *Rev. Études Grec.*, June.
H. D. Westlake. The Sources of Plutarch's Timoleon. *Class. Quar.*, Apr.
C. Bradford Welles. New Texts from the Chancery of Philip V of Macedonia and the Problem of the "Diagramma". *Am. Jour. Arch.*, Mar.
G. Highet. The Life of Juvenal. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LXVIII.
Ellis Hesselmeyer. Tacitus und die Zehntlandstheorie. *Klio*, XXXI, no. 1.
G. Downey. Malalas on the History of Antioch under Severus and Caracalla. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LXVIII.
L. Cohen. *Heredis Institutio ex Re Certa* and a New Will of the Roman Type. *Ibid.*
C. J. Kraemer, jr., and N. Lewis. A Referee's Hearing on Ownership. *Ibid.*

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

The Medieval Latin and Romance Lyric to A.D. 1300. By F. Brittain. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xiii, 273, $4.50.) The study of medieval poetry is essential to any full comprehension of medieval civilization. Mr. Brittain's book, handsome in format and binding as such a volume should be, is a convenient collection of over one hundred selections of poetry in medieval Latin and various Romance languages. Each selection is preceded by a brief comment, and the whole collection is introduced by an essay of some sixty pages. Although references are given to many works where English translations of some of the lyrics may be found, the reviewer is, nevertheless, somewhat perplexed by the book as a whole and is at a loss when trying to determine the exact audience for which it has been written. Specialists will probably not be in entire agreement as to the selections included in the book, the sequence of the arrangement of Latin and vernacular poems, and what are of necessity the obiter dicta of the brief introduction; they must perforce resort to the standard editions rather than depend upon an anthology. The nonspecialist will find in most instances linguistic barriers that he cannot leap. His knowledge of medieval Latin may be satisfactory, but that of his medieval French is likely to be "extensive rather than exact" (to use Professor Sidney Painter's happy phrase), and his Provençal, Castilian, Galician-Portuguese, and Italian weak—at least in spots! For him the introduction will prove informing and interesting but at the same time somewhat confusing. The technical vocabulary of prosody can no longer be assumed as a common possession of educated men, and where its use is essential to the argument the meaning of the technical term should be given. In short, the introductory essay seems to give either too much or not enough.

Virgilio nel Medio Evo. By D. Comparetti. Edited by Giorgio Pasquali. Volume I. (Florence, "La Nuova Italia", 1937, pp. xxxiv, 291, 26 l.) This is a new edition of Comparetti's book, which first appeared in 1872. Professor Pasquali, the eminent classicist of the University of Florence, justifies in his preface the republication, on the ground that the work was "the first and remained the only Italian book of Classical philology in the nineteenth century". Moreover, he tells us, notwithstanding the author's bias against the clergy and the church, which reveals itself throughout the work, and in spite of his conception of the Middle Ages, now no longer tenable in all its details, the book still retains its scholarly usefulness. Professor Pasquali discusses in detail an aspect of the work which appears to him unsound, namely, Comparetti's insistence on a popular Virgilian tradition which had developed in Naples antecedent to and independent of the writings of the more learned authors. He also adduces an important text unknown to Comparetti and to Spargo, which shows that in the fourth or fifth century Virgil was already looked upon as a prophet of Christianity by populations which were speaking not the Latin but the Greek and Coptic languages. Professor Pasquali has revised most of the notes and quotations with the aid of Comparetti's library.
Dino Bigongiari.

Inventaire des Sceaux Vaudois. By D. L. Galbreath. [Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande.] (Lausanne, Payot, 1937, pp. xix, 340, plates xxiv, 30 fr.) This large quarto volume is devoted to a list of seals used in the territory of Vaud in Switzerland from the time of Otto II to about 1536. The book is about equally divided between lay and ecclesiastical seals, those described numbering about twenty-six hundred. The former include those of emperors, dukes, seignorial families, municipalities, courts, and minor officials who were entitled to use these wax symbols. Among the latter are those of popes, patriarchs, bishops, archdeacons and their officials, chapters of cathedral churches, and parishes. Seals of universities, professors, doctors, priests, and chaplains also have their place. Abbeys and priories include Benedictines, Cluniacs, Augustines, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, and Carthusians. The mendicant orders and the convents of women include Cistercians, Dominicans, and Franciscans. Hospital orders include the groups of St. Anthony and St. John and the attendants of the institutions which they served. Many of the seals described are but fragments, and the inscriptions must be completed from other specimens or by inference from the remaining pieces. The author has been studying seals for many years and has published, among other works, *Seals of the Bishops of Lausanne,* an *Armorial of Vaud,* and a handbook of heraldry. The index of this book is very carefully prepared, and a list of the ateliers where these seals were made covers the period from about 1300 to 1540. A bibliography of works on the seals of Switzerland and adjacent rulers of that period adds to the usefulness of the book. This volume is published in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande and is dedicated to the founders of the association, who renewed in that country a respect for authentic documents.
J. M. Vincent.

The Greatest Norman Conquest. By James Van Wyck Osborne. (New York, Dutton, 1937, pp. xvi, 504, $5.00.) This book is intended to give the general reader a readable and authentic account of the Norman conquest of South Italy and Sicily. It is open to doubt, however, whether so detailed a narrative, colorful and full of action as it is, will hold the interest of the general reader,

while for the student of the Middle Ages a narrative that elucidates no particular points and shows inadequate understanding of medieval conditions beyond the immediate topic will be of little value. In general Mr. Osborne follows closely and correctly the narrative sources, especially Malaterra (misspelled throughout), William of Apulia, and Amatus, checking them but little by the work of modern scholars other than the obvious Chalandon. At times, however, without warning he leaves the guidance of medieval writers and of scholars to depict imaginary scenes. Historical students will regret having fuel added to prejudices new and old. "Nordic courage and the Nordic sense of directness and honesty towards life" are set off by the outworn contempt with which Greeks and Saracens are treated. Yet Mr. Osborne grossly exaggerates the part played by the Sicilian principality in the development of both medieval and renaissance culture. The wantonly contemptuous tone, sometimes more than verging on the burlesque, used of the clergy, especially of the regular clergy, is offensive. It is regrettable that Mr. Osborne should not have corrected and polished his writing with more care. References are given or withheld with no apparent discrimination, given sometimes in full, often inadequately or erroneously. Mistranslations, especially from the French of Aimé, are frequent. Doubtless because of haste, misspelled and misused words are numerous. The writing of a successful historical book for the general reader is not an easy task. To be of value it is not enough that it should be based on contemporary sources; it should interpret the particular subject with understanding of the wider field. J. M. Tatlock.

Zolotaya orda [Golden Horde]. Edited by V. Bystryanski. (Leningrad, Gos. sozial'no-ekon. izd., 1937, pp. 204, 2.40 r.) This volume contains two studies, one on the Golden Horde by A. Yakubovski and the other on the Golden Horde and Russia by B. Grekov. Together they constitute a brief political and social history of the Tartar state in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, intended for students and the general public. There are sixteen plates showing remains of the material culture of the Tartars. A. Yarmolinsky.

John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-1383. Edited by the late Eleanor C. Lodge and Robert Somerville. Two volumes. [Camden Third Series.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1937, pp. 1-234; vi, 235-489.) This is a companion to *John of Gaunt's Register,* published in the same series in 1911 under the editorship of Sir Sydney Armitage-Smith. The original of the present register is preserved among the Duchy of Lancaster records at the Public Record Office. The work of editing it had been nearly completed by Dr. Eleanor Lodge at the time of her death in 1936, and for what remained to be done, including the preparation of an index, Mr. Somerville made himself responsible. Owing to the length of the manuscript, entries which are in a standard form, such as indentures of service, are calendared. The register is of especial importance for the light it throws on the Duchy of Lancaster, the organization and management of its estates, the officials connected with it, and the duke's household and governmental system, revenues, and administration of justice.

Chartes confisquées aux bonnes villes du pays de Liège et du comté de Looz après la bataille d'Othée, 1408. By Ém. Fairon. [Commission royale d'histoire.] (Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1937, pp. xliv, 504, 60 fr.) It has been the particular good fortune of M. Fairon to rediscover in the Lille archives a complete set of copies of municipal documents relating to Liège and the surrounding district which there was every reason to believe were lost forever

after their confiscation in 1408. The find in itself is important enough. Its significance for general municipal history is to help to establish a saner and more correct view of the slow democratization of Liège. We note furthermore the unusual variety of materials for the study of the gilds. The constitutional historian will welcome the reconstruction of the charter of liberties granted to Huy in 1066 by Bishop Theodwin of Liège. As similar documents are rare all through northwestern Europe during the eleventh century, it has a fair claim to careful attention. It shows the basic reciprocality of all these constitutive grants: they were more or less contracts between a lord and his burgesses, not one-sided acts of the lord. This charter has indeed preserved the kernel of "customs" intact. It sets out to describe a body of self-appointed municipal rules of immemorial age, probably referring partly to the earliest stages of independence, when the burghers drew up clauses in self-defense against outside lords and competing strangers. That required the confirmation of the bishop, and a few allusions in these "customs" show the necessity of securing the co-operation of the bishop as lord and protector. That he valued a faithful town is proved by the concession of the first clause belonging to 1066, that the burgesses are in charge of the castle of Huy during a vacancy of the see of Liège. MARTIN WEINBAUM.

The Sagas of the Kings (*Konunga Sögur*) *and the Mythical-Heroic Sagas* (*Fornaldar Sögur*): *Two Bibliographical Supplements.* By HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON. [Islandica.] (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1937, pp. vii, 84, $1.00.) Too frequently Icelandic studies are thought of as complements to Old Norse or to Anglo-Saxon. But this latest bibliography of Professor Hermannsson, like a number of his earlier studies, should be fully as much the concern of the historian as of the philologist, for the author has included the titles of many articles and studies which bear not so much upon the sagas as upon the life and societies for which the sagas are among our sources. It supplements earlier issues of *Islandica* (Volumes II and V) and is a companion to Volume XXIV. The four volumes taken together provide the basis for a somewhat detailed index of authors, reviewers, etc., which is a very commendable feature of the present volume.

ARTICLES

ÉDOUARD JORDAN. Histoire ecclésiastique du moyen âge [bibliography]. *Rev. Hist., Bull. Crit.*, Jan.

MAURICE HÉLIN. Bibliographie analytique des travaux relatifs aux textes latins du moyen âge publiés en Belgique de 1919 à 1935. *Bull. Du Cange*, XIII.

C. H. COSTER. The *Iudicium Quinquevirale* in Constantinople. *Byzant. Zeitsch.*, XXXVIII, no. 1.

DAVID DAUBE. The Gothic Version and the Fourth-Century Byzantine Text. *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, Jan.

BRUNO KRUSCH. Die Lex Salica: Textkritik, Entstehung und Münzsystem. *Hist. Vierteljahrsch.*, Apr.

JOHN J. PARRY. Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Paternity of Arthur. *Speculum*, July.

W. T. TOWNSEND. Pope Symmachus: A Review. *Church Quar. Rev.*, Jan.

GUSTAVE BARDY. Les répercussions des controverses théologiques des V^e^ et VI^e^ siècles dans les églises de Gaule. *Rev. Hist. Église de France*, Jan.

BRUNO KRUSCH. Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie: Die Entstehung unserer Zeitrechnung. *Abhand. Preuss. Akad.*, 1937, no. 8.

KENNETH JACKSON. Nennius and the Twenty-Eight Cities of Britain. *Antiquity*, Mar.

PERCY ERNST SCHRAMM. Das Versprechen Pippins und Karls des Grossen für die Römische Kirche. *Zeitsch. Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgesch., Kan. Abt.*, XXVII.

CARLO GUIDO MOR. La provvista dei benefici minori di libera collazione nel diritto ecclesiastico del regno Longobardo. *Ibid.*

J. A. MCGEACHY, JR. The *Glossarium Salomonis* and its Relationship to the *Liber Glossarum*. *Speculum*, July.

GEORGES HUARD. Considérations sur l'histoire de la paroisse rurale, des origines à la fin du moyen age. *Rev. Hist. Église de France*, Jan.

MAX MEYERHOF. Mediaeval Jewish Physicians in the Near East, from Arabic Sources. *Isis*, May.

WILHELM BARTZ. Studien über die Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium. *Hist. Jahrb.*, LVII, no. 4.

HENRI GRÉGOIRE. Le nom et l'origine des Hongrois. *Zeitsch. Deut. Morgenländ. Gesell.*, XCI, no. 3.

EDUARD EICHMANN. Der sog. Salische Kaiserordo. *Zeitsch. Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgesch., Kan. Abt.*, XXVII.

WALTHER KIENAST. Lehnrecht und Staatsgewalt im Mittelalter: Studien auf dem Mitteis'schen Werk. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLVIII, no. 1.

KARL JORDAN. Ravennater Fälschungen aus den Anfängen des Investiturstreites. *Arch. f. Urkundenforsch.*, XV, no. 3.

GEORGE VERNADSKY. The Baltic Commerce of the West Russian and Lithuanian Cities during the Middle Ages. *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*, Sept., 1937.

ANDRÉ DÉLÉAGE. Notes de diplomatique autunoise. I. La chancellerie des comtes d'Autun à l'époque carolingienne. II. La chancellerie des évêques d'Autun jusqu'au milieu du douzième siècle. *An. Bourgogne*, Mar.

ANNE HOLTSMARK. Om de norske kongers sagaer. *Edda*, 1938, no. 2.

ROBERT HOLTZMANN. Zum Papstwahldekret von 1059. *Zeitsch. Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgesch., Kan. Abt.*, XXVII.

A. FRAENKEL. Landbruget i Danmarks oldtid. *Tilskueren*, July.

EMANUEL HUGO VOGEL. Der Giralverkehr in den oberitalienischen und den deutschen Handelszentren bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter. *Vierteljahrsch. f. Soz.- und Wirtschaftsgesch.*, XXXI, no. 1.

HARRY A. WOLFSON. The Amphibolous Terms in Aristotle, Arabic Philosophy and Maimonides. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Apr.

ARPAD STEINER. The Identity of the Italian 'Count' in Andreas Capellanus' *De Amore*. *Speculum*, July.

GEORGE L. HASKINS. Charter Witness Lists in the Reign of King John. *Ibid.*

J. HOMER HERRIOTT. A Thirteenth-Century Manuscript of the *Primera Partida*. *Ibid.*

R. W. SOUTHERN. Some New Letters of Peter of Blois. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, July.

HANS BARON. Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance. *Bull. John Rylands Library*, Apr.

Id. Franciscan Poverty and Civic Wealth as Factors in the Rise of Humanistic Thought. *Speculum*, Jan.

THEODORE SILVERSTEIN. On the Genesis of *De Monarchia*, II, v. *Ibid.*, July.

A. F. POLLARD. Two Notes on Parliamentary History: 1, The Chronology of Richard II's First Parliament; 2, The Clerk of Henry VI's 'Re-adeption' Parliament. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, June.

HERMANN HEIMPEL. Das deutsche Spätmittelalter: Charakter einer Zeit. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLVIII, no. 2.

D. O. LOTTIN. Aux origines de l'école théologique d'Anselme de Laon. *Rech. Théol. Anc. et Méd.*, Apr.

GABRIEL LE BRAS. Les Écritures dans le Décret de Gratien. *Zeitsch. Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgesch., Kan. Abt.*, XXVII.

GERHARD KALLEN. Friedrich Barbarossas Verfassungsreform und das Landrecht des Sachsenspiegels. *Ibid., Ger. Abt.*, LVIII.

PIER SILVERIO LEICHT. Il nome dell'azione nei decretisti e nei decretalisti. *Ibid., Kan. Abt.*, XXVII.

L. RABINOWITZ. The Medieval Jewish Counterpart to the Gild Merchant. *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, May.

PIETRO VACCARI. Nota sul diritto canonico nei suoi rapporti col diritto civile nel secoli XII-XIV. *Zeitsch. Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgesch., Kan. Abt.*, XXVII.

EMILIO NASALLI-ROCCA. Gli ospedali italiani di S. Lazzaro o dei Lebbrosi: Contributo alla storia del diritto ospedaliero. *Ibid.*

FRANÇOIS OLIVIER-MARTIN. Le roi de France et les mauvaises coutumes au moyen âge. *Ibid., Ger. Abt.*, LVIII.

ÉTIENNE GILSON. Les seizes premiers theoremata et la pensée de Duns Scot. *Arch. Hist. Doct. et Litt. du Moyen Age*, XI.

JOSEPH E. HANSBERY. The Children's Crusade. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Apr.

GINO LUZZATTO. Carta moneta o quote del debito pubblico? A proposito di una pretesa emissione di carta moneta a Milano nel 1240. *Riv. Stor. Ec.*, Mar.

KARL FRÖLICH. Zur Verfassungstopographie der deutschen Städte des Mittelalters. *Zeitsch. Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgesch., Ger. Abt.*, LVIII.

FRANCIS DARWIN. The Holy Inquisition: Suppression of Witnesses' Names. *Church Quar. Rev.*, Jan., Apr.

MARGARET HALL COLE. The Investment of Wealth in Thirteenth-Century Genoa. *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, May.

FRANÇOIS L. GANSHOF. Die Rechtsprechung des gräflichen Hofgerichtes in Flandern vor der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts. *Zeitsch. Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgesch., Ger. Abt.*, LVIII.

HANS HIRSCH. Der Schadlosbrief Rudolfs von Habsburg an bayerisch-fränkische Bischöfe und seine Bedeutung als Quelle für die Geschichte der babenbergischen Kirchenverfassung Oesterreichs. *Ibid., Kan. Abt.*, XXVII.

JEAN RIVIÈRE. Une première "Somme" du pouvoir pontifical: Le pape chez Augustin d'Ancône. *Rev. Sci. Relig.*, Apr.

MARTIN HONECKER. Ramon Lulls Wahlvorschlag Grundlage des Kaiserwahlplanes bei Nikolaus von Cues? *Hist. Jahrb.*, LVII, no. 4.

G. DOUDELEZ. La révolution communale de 1280 à Ypres. *Rev. Ques. Hist.*, Mar.

GIUSEPPE ERMINI. Caratteri della sovranità dei papi nei secoli XIII e XIV. *Zeitsch. Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgesch., Kan. Abt.*, XXVII.

GEORGE A. LÖNING. Juden im mittelalterlichen Bremen und Oldenburg. *Ibid., Ger. Abt.*, LVIII.

PAUL REHME. Neues über die Stralsunder Stadtbücher. *Ibid.*

G. HUBRECHT. Un procès de valorisation monétaire devant les échevins de Reims au moyen âge. *Tijdsch. Rechtsgesch.*, XVI, no. 2.

B. A. POCQUET DU HAUT-JUSSÉ. La succession de Bourgogne en 1361. *An. Bourgogne*, Mar.

JOHANNES VINCKE. Volkstum und Apostolische Pönitentiarie im 14. Jahrhundert. *Zeitsch. Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgesch., Kan. Abt.*, XXVII.

HANS ERICH FEINE. Die Approbation der Luxemburgischen Kaiser in ihren Rechtsformen an der Kurie. *Ibid.*

ERNST HEYMANN. Fortescues Laudes Legum Angliae. *Ibid., Ger. Abt.*, LVIII.

B. A. POCQUET DU HAUT-JUSSÉ. Le compte de Pierre Gorremont, receveur général du royaume, 1418-1420. *Bibl. École. Chartes*, Jan., June, 1937.

THEODOR LÄNGIN. Der Catholiconhymnus Gutenbergs. *Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, May.

DOCUMENTS

J. ENOCH POWELL. Michael Apostolios gegen Theodoros Gaza. *Byzant. Zeitsch.*, XXXVIII, no. 1.

JOSEPH LAMOR. L'ordre des parties dans le traité de Paulin d'Aquilée contre Félix d'Urgel. *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, Jan.

A. MICHEL. Die Botschaft Petros' III. von Antiochcia an seine Stadt über seine Ernennung. *Byzant. Zeitsch.*, XXXVIII, no. 1.

KARL OTTO MÜLLER. Ein unbekanntes Nekrologfragment (11. Jhdt.) aus dem Kreise der Klöster Reichenau-Rheinau. *Hist. Jahrb.*, LVII, no. 4.

KONRAD SCHROD. Eine Falschung für Kloster St. Alban bei Mainz. *Arch. f. Hessische Gesch.*, XX, nos. 1-2.

JEANNE BIGNAMI-ODIER. Le manuscrit Vatican latin 2180. *Arch. Hist. Doct. et Litt. du Moyen Age*, XI.

J. T. MUCKLE. Isaac Israeli: Liber De Definicionibus. *Ibid.*

FRANK R. LEWIS. A History of the Lordship of Gower from the Missing Cartulary of Neath Abbey. *Bull. Board Celtic Stud.*, May.

H. BÜTTNER. Zur Geschichte von Stift Selbold und seiner Beziehungen zu den Erzbischöfen von Mainz im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. *Arch. f. Hessische Gesch.*, XX, nos. 1-2.

H. WEISWEILER. Un manuscrit inconnu de Munich sur la querelle des investitures. *Rev. Hist. Ecclés.*, Apr.

P. GLORIEUX. Les 572 Questions du manuscrit de Douai 434. *Rech. Théol. Anc. et Méd.*, Apr.

MARTIN GRABMANN. Die Lehre vom Intellectus Possibilis und Intellectus Agens im Liber De Anima des Petrus Hispanus des späteren Papstes Johannes XXI. *Arch. Hist. Doct. et Litt. du Moyen Age*, XI.

S. HARRISON THOMSON. Robert Kilwardby's Commentaries *In Priscianum* and *In Barbarismum Donati*. *New Scholasticism*, Jan.

FERDINAND M. DELORME. En marge du Bullaire franciscain (Bulls of Innocent IV, Clement IV, and Alexander IV). *France franciscaine*, Jan.

P. F. FOURNIER. Nouveaux documents sur le jurisconsulte Pierre Jacobi et sa famille. *Bibl. École. Chartes*, June, 1937.

GEOFFREY BARRACLOUGH. Praxis Beneficiorum: A Contribution to the History of Practical Legal Literature in the Later Middle Ages. *Zeitsch. Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgesch., Kan. Abt.*, XXVII.

H. G. RICHARDSON. Early Coronation Records: The Coronation of Edward II. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, June.

Id. and G. O. SAYLES. The Parliament of Carlisle, 1307—Some New Documents. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, July.

CHARLES HOLT TAYLOR. An Assembly of French Towns in March, 1318. *Speculum*, July.

GEORGE L. HASKINS. The Doncaster Petition, 1321. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, July.

J. G. SIKES. Hervaeus Natalis: De Paupertate Christi et Apostolorum. *Arch. Hist. Doct. et Litt. du Moyen Age*, XI.

F. DÖLGER. Empfängerausstellung in der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei? Methodisches zur Erforschung der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters. *Arch. f. Urkundenforsch.*, XV, no. 3.

S. BINON. A propos d'un Prostagma inédit d'Andronic III Paléologue [cont.]. *Byzant. Zeitsch.*, XXXVIII, no. 1.

H. G. RICHARDSON. John of Gaunt and the Parliamentary Representation of Lancashire. *Bull. John Rylands Library*, Apr.

F. WORMALD. The Calendar of the Augustinian Priory of Launceston in Cornwall. *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, Jan.

LUDGER MEIER. Zum Schrifttum des Minoriten Kilianus Stetzing. *Rech. Théol. Anc. et Méd.*, Apr.

HENRI STEIN. Un diplomate bourguignon du XV^e^ siècle: Antoine Haneron. *Bibl. École Chartes*, June, 1937.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

W. F. Craven

The Place of Sir Thomas More in English Literature and History: Being a Revision of a Lecture delivered to the Thomas More Society. By R. W. CHAMBERS. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1937, pp. vii, 125, $2.00.) Saint Sir Thomas has been lucky in his biographers. The sketch of him by Erasmus

is as perfect a pen portrait as exists in literature. The life by Roper is the first great English biography. And the most recent biography, by Professor Chambers, ranks high in scholarly achievement and in literary charm. In one respect only does Mr. Chambers seriously warp the truth of history. Having fallen in love with his subject, he tries to endow him with all the virtues, including that of tolerance. In the lecture now under review he defends his previous position against the many criticisms of it and tries to turn the tables on the historians, beginning with Foxe and Burnet and going down through Froude, Creighton, and Acton until he comes to his own contemporaries. With all possible submission, the historians can only reply that in this particular Professor Chambers is wrong. More, though a great genius and a good man, was really deeply tainted, in his later years, with the vice of a persecuting and intolerant age. PRESERVED SMITH.

Catherine of Braganza. By JANET MACKAY. (London, John Long, 1937, pp. 319, 16*s*.) This is not an important historical work. It is typical of the more evanescent court narrative in purple jacket and gay heraldry which publishers can sell in reasonable quantity to the reading public of today. The period of the English Restoration with its Jacobite residue has furnished subjects for scores of such biographies during the last twenty years, and it is now well combed, as is indicated by the fact that two works have recently appeared on Catherine of Braganza, a dull, homely, uninteresting, and unimportant queen. Miss Mackay is a Canadian barrister whose previous literary accomplishment was *Interlude in Ecuador*. She writes with ease and grace and has read a few standard works, mostly old ones. None of the many recent scholarly treatments of the period is cited in footnotes or bibliography, both of which are too general or indefinite or misspelled to be of use or to command confidence. There is frequent reference to sources obviously used at second hand. Much is drawn from the undependable *Historia Genealogica, Casa Real Portuguesa*. Sir Frederick Pollock would not be flattered by confusion with John Pollock, whose *Popish Plot* is scarcely worthy of the great legal authority. Miss Mackay is adept in the realm of unspoken thoughts, where most of us have difficulty. There are occasional relieving bits of social scenery. Catherine's long widowhood in England, where she was too foreign, and in Portugal, where she was too English, is of some interest, and few perhaps know that she served as regent of her warring state in 1704, on the last day of which she died.
CLYDE GROSE.

Science and Social Welfare in the Age of Newton. By G. N. CLARK. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 159, $2.50.) In this suggestive little book Professor Clark extends the Age of Newton from the reign of Charles II to that of Queen Anne. The first four of the five chapters, delivered originally as lectures in the University of London, deal successively with science and technology, the economic incentives to invention, social and economic aspects of science, and social control of technological improvement. The third and fourth lectures have appeared as articles in the *Economic Journal* and the *Economic History Review*, respectively. The author treats of the interaction of the economic or other social forces and scientific curiosity in promoting invention and with the problem of technological unemployment that usually followed the introduction of new machines. In the third chapter he is critical of Hessen's view that Newton's scientific work was inspired chiefly by economic utility and suggests that other conditioning factors influential at the

time were the fine arts, medicine, and theology. He feels indeed that the "disinterested desire to know" may even have been "an independent and unique motive". In the fifth chapter, on social science, Professor Clark traces briefly the history of the early efforts to apply quantitative methods in a study of social and political facts. A brief appendix, reprinted from the *English Historical Review*, is devoted to William Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum*.

W. T. LAPRADE.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of William III, 1 April, 1700-8 March, 1702. Edited by EDWARD BATESON. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1937, pp. iv, 859, $11.75.) The present volume completes the calendar of the state papers of this series for the reign of William III. In contents it is not remarkable, being mainly composed of warrants, dockets, bills, and commissions derived from entry books or their equivalent. The documents calendared have yielded only a slender store of information, possibly because William was absent from England for a considerable portion of the time. Those pertaining to the office of Mr. Secretary Vernon are the most notable. They include incoming missives from the elder Methuen relating to a variety of Irish matters and frequent communications with the admiralty. The latter assume added interest as the outbreak of war becomes imminent and display a special concern for French naval preparations and for measures to meet them. Instructions to Rooke and Benbow and Marlborough's commission of June 1, 1701, appear, as do scattered items regarding routine matters in Scotland and the difficulties occasioned by pirates off the Virginia coast and in the East Indies. The financial troubles of the admiralty and of other officials are frequently in evidence, but there is hardly any trace of diplomatic or parliamentary activities. An appendix contains documents whose conjectured dates cover the decade 1689-99. The editing is of a high order.

R. H. GEORGE.

A Bibliography of British History, 1700-1715, with Special Reference to the Reign of Queen Anne. Volume II, *1708-1715*. By WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN, assisted by CHLOE SINER MORGAN. (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1937, pp. vi, 684, $6.00.) For the eight years covered by this volume Professor Morgan has listed some 5700 items, nearly all of them bearing on the transcendent, inseparable political, religious, and economic issues of the time. Appeals to a literate public opinion poured from the press as never before in English history—appeals on every intellectual level, in every temper, and in a striking variety of forms. The greatest publicists who have ever used the English tongue carried on a ceaseless warfare of pens. The average of Defoe's contributions for this period is about twenty publications a year; of Swift's, about ten. Even in our own age of progaganda it is impressive to learn that the sale of Defoe's *True-Born Englishman* reached 100,000 copies and that more than 10,000 copies of Swift's *Conduct of the Allies* were sold in a month. This was the ineluctable result of the events of 1688, which made prerogative and government answerable to the nation at large. The sound bibliographical standards set by Professor Morgan in the first volume of this work are here maintained. There are imperfect citations, as he freely admits. Collation of versions of the same tract has been in some cases impossible. The smoke screen of anonymity which sheltered pamphleteers in their dangerous calling is often impenetrable. Pirating printers have made thorny and sometimes hopeless the identification of editions. There will be readers to complain of the inclusion

of this, or the exclusion of that, and some who will dissent here or there from interpretations of events found in the several prefaces. But all students of the period will recognize the gallantry of the undertaking and the value of its achievement.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

The Governors of Jamaica in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century. By FRANK CUNDALL. (London, West India Committee, 1937, pp. xxxi, 229, 18*s*.) This book, the second volume of a trilogy based on a lifetime of research, was published shortly before its distinguished author's death. Like Volume I, *The Governors of Jamaica in the Seventeenth Century* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII, 822), the present study is a happy blending of history and biography and meets the highest tests of scholarship. It embraces thirteen administrations, from William Selwyn's (1701-1702) through John Stewart's (March-April, 1742). Each section contains voluminous excerpts from contemporary documents and literature. The historical outline of the period serves to orient the layman, while the long list of island officials and colonial agents is of inestimable value to the specialist in expansion. Numerous excellent illustrations add materially to the usefulness of the book, and it is a typographic gem. The manuscript of Volume III was undergoing final revision just before Mr. Cundall's death and will appear shortly. No other colony has been more fortunate in its chronicler. Frank Cundall will always be remembered as "the historian of Jamaica".

LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ.

Crown, People, and Parliament, 1760-1935. By WILLIAM EDWARDS. (London, Arrowsmith, 1937, pp. 256, 8*s*. 6*d*.) This manual is an exposition of the workings of the British government under the main headings indicated in the title. The commonplaces of the British system are treated in a topical fashion with abundant illustrations from the experiences since 1760. The supplying of so "many instances" has pushed into the background the avowed purpose of pointing out the "defects in its workings". The racy treatment of the earlier Hanoverians and the use of amusing instances in the relations of the sovereign and parliament and cabinet may stimulate an interest in the "neglectful voter" and aid "historical students for the Higher Certificate". If so intended, however, the volume should be checked over for numerous inaccuracies. Well-known quotations are in need of correction (pp. 45, 69, 223), and there are a good many erroneous statements (*e.g.*, pp. 68, 126, 205, 231, 245). The footnotes cannot be checked, for the editions used are not indicated, even in references to Erskine May, Medley and Taswell-Langmead. The bibliography is an aggravation. There are sins of omission as well as of commission. The treatment of the cabinet should include the World War developments; the troubles growing out of the Hoare-Laval agreement throw light on the matter of collective responsibility; and the success of A. P. Herbert's "Marriage Bill" would seem to show that an important reform can be secured by an independent (p. 210). Any consideration of recent trends should include the development of administration and of administrative law since the World War.

HOWARD ROBINSON.

Some Political & Social Ideas of English Dissent, 1763-1800. By ANTHONY LINCOLN. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. 292, $2.50.) This little volume is commendable as a prize essay. As a youthful academic exercise it shows distinct promise, but as serious history it scarcely deserves attention. The author read widely in appropriate places and collected a variety of apposite matter. Some of the things he says are penetrating;

others, almost naïve. In the first brief chapter Mr. Lincoln describes his book as "a study in opinion" which "endeavours to assess the reactions of a large and peculiarly situated group of men and women to the many revolutions, political and intellectual, which mark the momentous years between 1763 and 1800". His second chapter is an essay on what he calls the "Dissenting Interest"; in his third, entitled "Education and Politics", he seeks to relate the work done in the Warrington and Hackney schools to certain political writers of the previous generation. The fourth chapter is devoted to the ideas of Richard Price, and the fifth to those of Joseph Priestley. The sixth and final chapter deals with a variety of things under the title "Toleration and Rights". A discriminating reader may learn much from these essays, but they give neither an adequate nor an accurate impression of the ideas that characterized English Dissenters in the last half of the eighteenth century.

W. T. LAPRADE.

Scotland's Shifting Population, 1770-1850. By D. F. MACDONALD. (Glasgow, Jackson, Son and Company, 1937, pp. vii, 172, 7*s.* 6*d.*) While professing to do for Scottish history what Redford's *Labour Migration* does for English, these well-documented pages may perform two additional services. They should provide the student of emigration with a long-needed analysis of migration made from parish records and offer to modern pamphleteers a new version of the old grievances—the Highland clearances and rural depopulation. Impersonal forces, mainly the agricultural revolution and industrial concentration, rather than rapacious landlords appear as the principal causes drawing a majority of the population into a small minority of Scotland's area. Chapters on Irish immigration, the health of the towns, and poor relief tell vividly enough what befell the Scottish migrant in that region of concentrated competition. One might quarrel with details of the study: puzzle over the delimitation of the period, 1770-1850, when 1750 and 1860 or 1880 seem to be more clear-cut boundaries; question minor deviations from Grant's or Hamilton's interpretation of the relation between English and Scottish labor or the textile and the metal industries; pounce on errors in reference like those on pages 9, 57, 71, and 128 from J. R. McCulloch and from Sir John Sinclair's voluminous statistical account; or even weary of the persistent reweighing of evidence and long for a Johnsonian outburst. But in the end one must commend the work for its precision and restraint. Few historians could describe the removal of the crofters to the coasts (p. 42) or the government made-work on the Caledonian canal (p. 82) without pointing a lesson at modern times. HELEN I. COWAN.

Trade in the Eastern Seas, 1793-1813. By C. NORTHCOTE PARKINSON. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xii, 434, $5.00.) It is rather hard to evaluate this book. It presents little that is unknown to a student of the East India Company's affairs, but, on the other hand, it brings together in excellent form a mass of material which is otherwise widely scattered. Its failure to present really new material arises chiefly from the fact that much of the book appears originally to have been intended as introductory to a study of naval history in the eastern seas between 1803 and 1810, which was based on manuscript records in the admiralty office. As introductory material to such a study it is superb, but as an independent work it lacks thoroughness and completeness. It is based almost entirely on contemporary printed accounts and records and a few later collections of documents. As such, it does not utilize a mass of manuscript material in the India office relating to the court

of directors, the shipping business of the company, the private trade, and the activities of the various committees of the company which should have been used if a definitive study of the subject were to have been written. Despite this weakness the general picture which it gives is accurate, and it is a definite addition to the literature dealing with the company and with the British in India. It is forcefully and interestingly written, and the point of view is often new and refreshing. Its conclusions are clearly presented so that in the future no one should have an excuse for misunderstanding the true nature of the company and of British connections with India during this period. The work is well illustrated and beautifully printed. It is generally free from slips of the pen, although on page 56 the date 1557 would be more nearly correct than 1586, the date 1785 on page 93 should be 1784, and on page 122 the date 1588 must be a misprint. The book has some useful notes, a bibliography, and an index. EARL H. PRITCHARD.

Letters from William Cobbett to Edward Thornton, written in the Years 1797 to 1800. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by G. D. H. COLE. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xlvi, 127, $3.00.) Historical scholars know that Cobbett spent two periods of exile in the United States, 1792-1800, and 1817-1819. Mr. Cole, the author of *The Life of William Cobbett* (1925) and *The Life and Adventures of Peter Porcupine with other Records of his Early Career in England and America* (1927), has rendered a valuable service in carefully editing these twenty-three letters and an extract from a pamphlet. A comprehensive introduction and notes give the setting and furnish the necessary identifying details for each letter. Pro-French and pro-British feeling ran high in the United States at this time. Cobbett, for example, denounced not only Joseph Priestley as an English traitor but also such leading Democratic politicians and statesmen as Thomas McKean, for the "murder" of two Quakers during the American Revolution, and Dr. Benjamin Rush, as a medical fraud during yellow fever epidemics. Indeed, it is difficult to see why he was permitted to remain in the country so long except that French propaganda and intrigue were equally offensive. In this tense atmosphere, as Mr. Cole cleverly points out, Cobbett felt at home: "he vastly preferred being fined $5000 to having too many friends" (p. xxxix). Although the book was designed primarily for the British reader, accounts of American politics and notices of well-known figures might have been shortened, as in the case of Hannah More (pp. 10-12). On the other hand, Mr. Cole is to be commended for his zeal in identifying characters and explaining obscure episodes. An index of persons completes the volume. FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

The Formation of Canning's Ministry, February to August, 1827. Edited from Contemporary Correspondence by ARTHUR ASPINALL. [Camden Third Series.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1937, pp. lvii, 327.) Documents selected from collections of manuscripts in the British Museum, the Public Record Office, at the University of Michigan, and in private possession are preceded by a detailed study of the change of government in England in the spring of 1827.

Parlamentarism och demokrati i England. By GUNNAR HECKSCHER. (Stockholm, Hugo Geber, 1937, pp. xii, 342.) The author, a son of the distinguished economist, professedly intended this work as an advanced textbook. But his treatment in many passages, especially in the second half of the book, moves on the level of a mature treatise in English constitutional government. He sharply distinguishes between the parliamentary system and democracy. The

former arose in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in an aristocratic setting, and it by no means implied a democratic political system. The transition to democracy came only toward the close of the nineteenth century, obviously marked by the extension of the suffrage to the masses and, less conspicuously, by the changes in the rules of the house of commons, changes occasioned in the first instance by the interminable Irish question. After the turn of the century the parliamentary system, for the first time, had a chance to function in a democratic order. Whether or not it is a commendable system will depend on how it actually works in particular circumstances; as the writer of this study sees it, democracy is certainly not dependent upon it and may function under other political forms as well. O. J. FALNES.

The English Coöperatives. By SYDNEY R. ELLIOTT. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1937, pp. viii, 212, $3.00.) This book, written by a young English co-operative editor, may be classed as a companion volume to Marquis Childs's *Sweden, the Middle Way*. It is a graphic, discerning account of the rise of the British co-operative movement. The author's main theme is that Englishmen, while outshouting the world in their devotion to laissez faire, developed during the nineteenth and first quarter of the twentieth century an extensive and highly perfected system of industrial monopoly and of price-fixing practices which met its only substantial challenge in the rising co-operative movement. The British co-operatives have reached a membership of 7,500,000 and a sales volume in excess of £200 million. Others have more adequately surveyed and documented the British co-operative development. No one, however, has so clearly dramatized the conflict between the co-operatives and their state-assisted private competitors. The co-operative coal mines cannot exceed legal production quotas, established in the interest of maintaining coal prices. It is difficult for the co-operatives to secure the licensing of additional trucks for hauling their goods, so great is the opposition of railways. Many standard trade-marked goods cannot be bought by co-operatives except upon the promise not to pay rebates. In many other fields the co-operatives have found supply sources monopolized. In recent years the co-operative earnings, or more accurately savings, have been subjected to taxation. The author concludes that such restrictive and discriminatory practices have allied the co-operative and labor movements into a united political program. "The race is between economic collapse . . . and the rise of a united democratic movement with a practical program of far-reaching social change, and the will to make its program effective against the vested interests now rallying in defense of their privilege. The side on which the co-operative movement will stand in that struggle is not in doubt" (p. 198).
COLSTON WARNE.

Moments of Memory: Recollections and Impressions. By HERBERT ASQUITH. (New York, Scribner's, 1938, pp. 382, $3.50.) This delightful sketch makes no pretense to being a full-length biography. It may be regarded rather as a predella to the portrait of Asquith presented in J. A. Spender and Cyril Asquith's Life of Lord Oxford. It is a son's tribute, though without a trace of filio-pietism, to the genius, the courage, the sincerity, and the perfect gentlemanliness of a man who had heavy burdens to bear during years of great anxiety. Perhaps the qualities of Asquith which emerge from these pages are chiefly his utter loyalty to his colleagues in the cabinet (in contrast to the maneuvers of Lloyd George to step into his shoes) and his patience in the face of attacks by Irish malcontents and hectorings by militant suffragettes. The vast and varied intel-

lectual interests of the man, as revealed in his major writings, tempered by his escape from distraction in the refuge of his garden, may have unfitted Asquith, as his critics claim, for the stern duty of prosecuting the war with relentless vigor; but whether or not the indictment be true, we feel as we read this book that we would not have Asquith other than he was—the finest type of English gentleman. The substitution of Lloyd George for Asquith undoubtedly "speeded up" the war; but, as the author remarks, the consequent absence of Asquith and Grey from the peace conference, where their moderating influence would have probably given hearty support to President Wilson, "may well have had profound results on the future of which we have not yet seen the end". Half of the author's chapters are devoted to his own experiences in the World War, where he fought almost continually from February, 1915, to the spring of 1918. His descriptions of military operations are among the most vivid in all the literature of the war. D. S. MUZZEY.

Bibliography of Irish History, 1912-1921. By JAMES CARTY. [National Library of Ireland.] (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1936, pp. xxxviii, 177, 6*s*.) The National Library of Ireland has acquired an enviable reputation not only for the wealth of its material relating to all aspects of Irish life but also for the courtesy and freedom from restriction with which these are made available to the student. In 1913 it published a *Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature*, prepared by Dr. R. I. Best, now director of the library, which, although designed primarily to serve the student of the Irish language and its literature, has proved to be an aid of inestimable value to the historian. Now it is proposed to publish in sections a general bibliography of Irish history. "It has been thought best to begin with recent history, the period immediately preceding the establishment of the Free State, as being that upon which attention is at present largely directed, and for which consequently the need of accurate and detailed information is most felt. This will be followed by the period 1870-1911, covering the Home Rule and other movements." The present work contains, besides the bibliography proper, a preface, introduction, chronology, and index. The introduction and chronology between them give, as a setting to the publications listed, a useful "explanatory guide" to the political history of the period. The index appears to be adequate. The bibliography is "restricted to constitutional and political questions". It is also restricted to publications in the National Library, but that collection is so extensive that omissions are in general unimportant. The book is especially valuable for the information it gives regarding pamphlets, magazine articles, and the many ephemeral periodicals of the period. There are some evidences of deficiencies in proofreading, especially in regard to punctuation and uniformity of style. JAMES F. KENNEY.

Kind Edward VIII: An Intimate Biography. By HECTOR BOLITHO. (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1937, pp. 328, $3.00.) This biography was one of many written on the eve of the coronation planned for Edward VIII. It contains an interesting sketch of Edward's career as prince of Wales. His travels in all parts of the world are, however, unduly emphasized. The author stresses throughout the universal appeal of the prince and his insatiable curiosity about the vast dominions over which he eventually reigned for a year. He certainly overdoes the prince's physical activity. The World War, coupled with his missions as Britain's Commercial Traveler No. 1, helped to unfit him for the routine duties of a king. His head was eventually turned by the adulation heaped upon

him, and he withdrew from the salutary influence of his father and mother, seeking relief from his arduous social obligations as heir apparent in the company of the "fast" set. In the final scene he preferred his personal happiness to unselfish service as British sovereign. The larger portion of the work praises his unselfishness, but the latter part turns from panegyrics to criticism. Beyond stressing Edward's great interest in social reform, the book sheds little light upon his work as king. We should welcome something more about his personal life, his boon companions, and more evidence of his serious interest in national affairs. George V is praised far beyond his deserts as "the greatest of the essentially *English* sovereigns". The work could have been shortened to advantage. It is an interesting but discursive biography which will not enhance Mr. Bolitho's literary reputation. He has had unusual opportunities for observation, of which he here makes little use. W. T. Morgan.

ARTICLES

George B. Parks. More's Utopia and Geography. *Jour. Eng. and Ger. Philol.*, Apr.

Maurice Lanoire. La redécouverte de Shakespeare. *Rev. France*, July 15.

William H. McCabe. Music and Dance on a 17th Century College Stage. *Music Quar.*, July.

William Matthews. Variant Pronunciations in the Seventeenth Century. *Jour. Eng. and Ger. Philol.*, Apr.

James D. Ogilvie. A Bibliography of the Bishops' Wars, 1639-40. *Rec. Glasgow Bibliograph. Soc.*, XII.

F. E. Budd. A Translation Attributed to Evelyn: *The Manner of Ordering Fruit-Trees* (1660). *Rev. Eng. Stud.*, July.

Robert K. Merton. Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England. *Osiris*, IV, pt. 2, pp. 360-632.

Margaret A. Beese. John Donne the Younger: Addenda and Corrections to his Biography. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, July.

Alan C. Smith. The Most Slandered Man in History [Sir Henry Morgan]. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, June.

M. I. Batten. The Architecture of Dr. Robert Hooke, F.R.S. *Walpole Soc.*, XXV.

Ada K. Longfield. History of Tapestry-making in Ireland in the 17th and 18th Centuries. *Jour. Roy. Soc. Antiq. of Ireland*, June.

C. S. Orwin. Observations on the Open Fields. *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, May.

Arthur Geddes. The Changing Landscape of the Lothians, 1600-1800, as Revealed by Old Estate Plans. *Scottish Geog. Mag.*, May.

William I. Hull. Egbert van Heemskerk's "Quaker Meeting". *Bull. Friends' Hist. Assoc.*, Spring.

John W. Draper. The Theory of the Comic in Eighteenth-Century England. *Jour. Eng. and Ger. Philol.*, Apr.

H. N. Fieldhouse. Bolingbroke and the Idea of Non-Party Government. *History*, June.

R. O. MacFarlane. British Indian Policy in Nova Scotia to 1760. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, June.

Jonas Howe. The History and Settlement of Grand Manan, with Related Letters and Documents. Edited by Buchanan Charles. *Grand Manan Historian*, V.

W. F. Ganong. The Origin and History of the Name Grand Manan. *Ibid.*

Buchanan Charles. The Licence of Occupation, 1783; and six other short articles. *Ibid.*

James L. Caw. Allan Ramsay, Portrait Painter, 1713-1784. *Walpole Soc.*, XXV.

Sidney H. Pavière. Biographical Notes on the Devis Family of Painters. *Ibid.*

Jadu Nath Sarkar. The Mission of James Browne to the Delhi Court, 1783-1785. *Bengal: Past and Present*, July.

C. Collin Davies. Warren Hastings and the Rohilla War. *Army Quar.*, July.

Dixon Wecter. Four Letters from George Crabbe to Edmund Burke. *Rev. Eng. Stud.*, July.

L. P. Dutt. Administration of Justice in Bengal in the Last Decades of the 18th Century. *Bengal: Past and Present*, July.

CARL J. KULSRUD. The Seizure of the Danish Fleet, 1807: The Background. *Am. Jour. Internat. Law*, Apr.

W. D. BIRD. Wellington's Tactical Preferences? *Army Quar.*, July.

B. R. PEARN. Felix Carey and the English Baptist Mission in Burma. *Jour. Burma Research Soc.*, Apr.

K. K. BASU. An Account of the Early European Indigo Planters in Bhagalpur. *Bengal: Past and Present*, July.

L. S. STAVRIANOS. Is the Frontier Theory applicable to the Canadian Rebellions of 1837-1838? *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, Summer.

ERIC RAMSDEN. Marsden and the South Seas. *Jour. and Proc. Royal Aust. Hist. Soc.*, XXIV, no. 3.

STEPHEN LEACOCK. Emigration in English Literature. *Quar. Rev.*, Apr.

H. DE WATTEVILLE. Trooping to India in the 'Fifties. *Army Quar.*, July.

W. MENZIES WHITELAW. Reconstructing the Quebec Conference. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, June.

L. E. FRECHTLING. The Reuter Concession in Persia. *Asiatic Rev.*, July.

D. G. CREIGHTON. The Victorians and the Empire. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, June.

A. P. USHER. William James Ashley, a Pioneer in the Higher Education. *Can. Jour. Ec. and Pol. Sci.*, May.

W. A. MACKINTOSH. Adam Shortt, 1859-1931. *Ibid.*

RICHARD H. HEINDEL. British Diplomats and the Press. *Public Opinion Quar.*, July.

W. D. FORSYTH. British Migration to Australia—Demographic and Social Aspects. *Ec. Rec.*, June.

J. A. MAXWELL. Commonwealth Grants to States in Australia. *Am. Ec. Rev.*, June.

P. J. THOMAS. Indian Currency in the Depression. *Ec. Jour.*, June.

W. G. NORMAND. The Public Prosecutor in Scotland. *Law Quar. Rev.*, July.

JOHN C. GARDNER. A Comparative Examination of the Doctrine of Judicial Precedent in Scots Law. *Juridical Rev.*, June.

F. C. CRONKITE. Canada and the Abdication. *Can. Jour. Ec. and Pol. Sci.*, May.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH. The Jurisdiction of British Courts over Foreign Sovereigns. *Juridical Rev.*, June.

ROBERT C. HALL. Representation of Big Business in the House of Commons. *Public Opinion Quar.*, July.

W. S. MCCULLOUGH. Palestine: The Arabs, the Jews, and the Peel Report. *Univ. Toronto Quar.*, July.

F. H. SOWARD. Canada and Foreign Affairs [annual review article]. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, June.

DOCUMENTS

A. H. DODD. A Spy's Report, 1604. *Bull. Board Celtic Stud.*, May.

T. ROY JONES. The Holdings of Thomas Guy in the South Sea Company. *Baptist Quar.*, July.

G. F. JAMES. The Admiralty Establishment, 1759. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, June.

VERNON D. TATE. Spanish Documents Relating to the Voyage of the *Racoon* to Astoria and San Francisco. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May.

FRANK E. ROSS. Sir George Simpson at the Department of State. *Brit. Col. Hist. Quar.*, Apr.

FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

S. B. Clough

Citizen of Geneva: Selections from the Letters of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. By CHARLES WILLIAM HENDEL. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xi, 405, $3.50.) This anthology is based on the twenty volumes of *Correspondance générale*, issued from 1924 to 1934 through the aid of the Institute of France, and is preceded by a biographical sketch, one third as long as the letters themselves, explaining the circumstances under which each was written. It would have been more satisfactory had a brief introduction preceded each letter. The

sketch, which is well done, contains selections from other letters than those included in the body of the work and, on a somewhat peculiar principle of the editor, is more impartial than the anthology. Indeed, if one is to be guided by the latter, one finds a different Rousseau from the half-crazed, suspicious neurotic to whom one is accustomed. This Rousseau is a sensible, well-balanced person, who writes with much charm and natural gayety, a lover of fun and quiet happiness. Music, botany, and education are his delights; he is devoted to the welfare not only of the "poor girl" who is his housekeeper but also of his dog, his cat, and his hens. No doubt there are pages of complaints about irritating people and his bad health, but the net impression is of a man profoundly good, basically an optimist, and happy in the tranquil enjoyment of little things. He is truly the moral teacher and the citizen. From the standpoint of those interested in Rousseau's influence on the French Revolution, he reveals himself as a republican and a hater of kings in theory but in practice quite as willing to be the recipient of Frederick the Great's protection as Voltaire himself and as submissive to the laws of princes. Where the laws touch his writings, however, Rousseau will stand and fight, or rather run and fight, seemingly bewildered by the wrong interpretations malicious folk place on the innocent thoughts of a truly virtuous man. EUGENE N. CURTIS.

Un célèbre méconnu: Le Duc de Lauzun, 1747-1793. By Comte R. DE GONTAUT BIRON. Preface by Général Weygand. (Paris, Plon, 1937, pp. vi, 375, 25 fr.) The Duc de Lauzun was one of those great nobles of the *ancien régime* who divided their time between the boudoir and the camp. Posterity remembers him chiefly as a famous lover and a lavish spender. Count Biron freely admits Lauzun's faults but also pictures him as an able soldier faithfully serving his king and country. He fought with distinction in Corsica in 1769, commanded the expedition which recovered Senegal from Great Britain in 1779, and served under Rochambeau in America. After his return to France he joined the opposition circle of the Duc d'Orleans. Lauzun's role in the estates general and the national assembly was inconspicuous, but unlike most of the nobles he remained faithful to the constitutional monarchy and the republic. He fought successively on the Belgian, Rhine, and Italian frontiers, and finally in the Vendée. Unjustly condemned in 1793, Lauzun went to his death with the courage of a soldier. The chapters treating the last two years of his life, which comprise over a third of the volume, are unusually well documented from the Paris archives and constitute a contribution to the military history of the French Revolution. The book is a work of research, in which most of the author's conclusions are substantiated. E. WILSON LYON.

Anti-Slavery Opinion in France during the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century. By EDWARD DERBYSHIRE SEEBER. [The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, pp. 238, $2.50.) "The anti-slavery movement in France, particularly in its political aspects, has been the object of many studies, none of which, however, has revealed the growth of the idea of anti-slavery in the diversified literature of the eighteenth century." This sentence, quoted from the preface, indicates the nature and purpose of the present study. Professor Seeber has read the accounts of travelers in Africa and the French colonies, the works of essayists, novelists, poets, playwrights, philosophers, and propagandists, and has made note of the references to the Negro race. The six hundred or more titles in his bibliography bear testimony to the wide range of his research. Montesquieu,

he finds, was the first important writer to make a vigorous and concentrated attack on slavery. Here, then, was a good starting point. From Montesquieu he traces the increasing interest in the Negro until the latter emerges early in the nineteenth century as the glamorous hero of fiction and drama. The study ends with the *Génie du christianisme* by Chateaubriand. The author conforms to the best canons of historical scholarship. My chief criticism, more querulous perhaps than serious, is that roughly one third of the text is in French. Where excerpts are of considerable length, this practice may be easily condoned in view of the purpose of the book; but the insertion of simple French phrases in the middle of English sentences, which occurs plentifully on every page, seems to me to be out of accord with good literary taste. While in a captious mood, I would also point out that the bibliography could have been improved by listing the secondary authorities in a separate section, with a critical note under each title. Fundamentally, however, the book is a sound piece of scholarship and a valuable contribution to social and literary history.

MITCHELL B. GARRETT.

Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette before the Revolution. By NESTA H. WEBSTER. (New York, Putnam's, 1937, pp. xv, 319, $3.75.) Mrs. Webster is at her best in this book. Her best is, indeed, so different from what academic historians of the French Revolution usually concern themselves with that it is unlikely to impress them. Yet Mrs. Webster has her place in the historiography of the subject. She is an extreme, a rather jittery, English Tory, as incapable of attaining objectivity in the study of the French Revolution and its antecedents as was, from an opposing position, the late M. Aulard of the Sorbonne and the *Quotidien*. Her jitters come out in her acceptance of the most melodramatic phases of the *théorie du complot*, an acceptance which invalidates most of her volume on *The French Revolution* and all of her *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements*. But the greater part of this sympathetic study of Louis XVI and his queen is a not by any means unnecessary antidote to the conventional treatment these rulers have received from historians and biographers—especially Freudian biographers. Mrs. Webster has good English Tory notions of what a king and a queen should be, and such notions applied to Louis and Marie Antoinette can, for the discerning reader, throw a good deal of light on important aspects of pre-revolutionary France. After all, the English ruling class has ruled too long not to have handed down even to its more excited members a good many sensible habits of mind. Equipped with these, Mrs. Webster succeeds notably in making Marie Antoinette a real and plausible person. The book is well documented and makes good reading. It reeks with prejudices, but with prejudices so different from those to which most American students in the field are exposed that it might well be recommended reading for many of them.

CRANE BRINTON.

Le marché des changes de Paris à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, 1778-1800, avec des graphiques et le relevé des cours. By JEAN BOUCHARY. [Commission de recherche et de publication des Documents relatifs à la vie économique de la Révolution.] (Paris, Paul Hartmann, 1937, pp. 183.) This little book will save much labor to those working on the financial relations of the French during the Revolution with the chief markets of Europe. Its principal purpose is to tabulate (pp. 107-83) the daily fluctuations of exchange. Other parts of the volume are introductory. The markets represented are Amsterdam, Hamburg, London, Cadiz, Madrid, Genoa, and Leghorn. From January 1, 1789, to April

1, 1793, the data are complete, and the author draws his quotations from the *Journal de Paris,* but after the Convention penalized trade in coin the newspapers ceased to publish rates, and other sources of information are fragmentary. The vicissitudes of the general war also lessened the number of markets. During the height of the struggle Basel becomes a principal market. After August 18, 1795, the *Journal de Paris* resumed publication of rates. A little later the quotations given in the announcements of the "Chambre syndicale des agents de change" are official. For the last four years prior to 18 Brumaire (as also for 1778-88) the author's lists present only semiannual or annual maxima and minima, but here daily quotations are not as important because the assignats had disappeared and inflation was over. Besides the lists there are graphs for the markets of Amsterdam and Hamburg, and these reveal the vertiginous plunges of exchange during the period of extreme inflation. As a preface to the graphs and lists the author gives a chronological review, suggesting causes for the more notable variations. The first part of the book, which explains the technique of exchange, will be especially helpful to laymen.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

Mon ambassade en Russie, 1903-1908. By MAURICE BOMPARD, ambassadeur de France. (Paris, Plon, 1937, pp. xlix, 335, 40 fr.)

Paul Cambon, ambassadeur de France, 1843-1924. By Un Diplomate. (*Ibid.,* pp. 325, 40 fr.) Coming well after the publication of the great collections of diplomatic documents, these two volumes add no vital information. Much of Bompard's narrative is based upon these documents. His lengthiest diplomatic description relates to the treaty of Björkö. It is interesting to contrast what he has written with the little he knew of it at the time (pp. 141, 179, 239). The biographer of Cambon, sketching an entire lifetime, had to be content with general strokes. Yet it becomes wearisome to read time after time that Cambon interceded with profit to France in many affairs with which he was not directly concerned. In the chapter on his mission in London during the war new material might well have come to light, but the chapter is too brief, a dismaying chronicle of political and military indecision while lives were being lost on the field of battle. The reader would never know that American soldiers had come to France and might not be surprised to discover that Cambon lodged a protest with the British government when it advised the United States, without the prior agreement of France, that Turkey had signed the armistice of Mudros (p. 298). The few, snarling remarks on British participation in the peace settlements quite clearly show why the Entente Cordiale thereafter disappeared. Both books reveal the traits of the ambassadors, of many other individuals with or against whom they worked, of royalty before whom they gladly bowed and whose ability they sometimes respected. They preferred conservatives, who were intelligent and reliable, to liberals, who were doctrinaire and elusive. Bompard's narrative has most value because of his word-pictures of Russian internal conditions. There are some mistakes, in both books, in dates, and the spelling of proper names displays a flexibility peculiar to French. Too much space is surrendered to trifling matters which seem to make life pleasant for ambassadors.

ROGERS P. CHURCHILL.

La révolte druze et l'insurrection de Damas, 1925-1926. By Général ANDRÉA, ancien commandant de la région de Damas, ancien gouverneur du Djebel-Druze. [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris, Payot, 1937, pp. 243, 25 fr.) This is a vigorous description of French military activity during the twenty-four-month

rebellion in Syria. It omits the campaign in South Lebanon, describes with an admirable economy of words the French defeat at Mezraa, hurries on through the bombardment of Damascus, then settles down to a chronological account of the subsequent French campaign in the Druze Mountain, amplified with geographical and historical notes which add to the interest of the volume. General Andréa has read the causes of unrest in simplest terms. The Druzes were cajoled or terrorized into violence by criminal chieftains, who in turn were encouraged—financially and morally—by outsiders in Syria, Paris, Geneva. Their spectacular effort, he asserts, would have collapsed quickly had they not been permitted to use territory under British mandate as a retreat and rallying ground. It is a black-and-white sketch—every French casualty a reminder of the glorious traditions and civilizing mission of France, every Druze tribesman dead by the mountain track another evidence of the stubborn stupidity of the local feudal lords. The preface promises an answer to two questions. What difficulties did the French encounter in administering the Syrian mandate? How were these difficulties overcome? The first question goes unanswered. The second is answered in terms of military pacification, not administrative reform. The story of the uprising has been robbed of much of its meaning, but as an indication of the spirit in which the French campaign was waged the book could hardly be more revealing. ELIZABETH P. MACCALLUM.

ARTICLES

ALBERT HYMA. Calvinism and Capitalism in the Netherlands, 1555-1700. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Sept.

HENRI HAUSER. Les relations commerciales entre la France et l'Espagne et la politique de Richelieu. *Rev. Hist. Éc. et Soc.*, May.

GABRIEL HANOTAUX and DUC DE LA FORCE. Histoire de Richelieu: Cardinal et le Saint-Siège. *Rev. Deux Mondes*, May.

ROBERT VIVIER. Un problème d'histoire économique: Les essais de limitation de la culture de la vigne en Touraine au XVIII[e] siècle. *Rev. Hist. Éc. et Soc.*, May.

SHELBY T. MCCLOY. Some Eighteenth Century Housing Projects in France. *Social Forces*, May.

Id. Government Assistance during the Plague of 1720-22 in Southeastern France. *Social Service Rev.*, June.

Id. French Charities to the Acadians, 1755-1799. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, July.

CTE. DE SAINT-AULAIRE. L'église d'Espagne et la Révolution française. *Rev. Deux Mondes*, June.

ROBERT J. WOOD. The Royal Army and the French Revolution. *Coast Artillery Jour.*, May.

HUNTLEY DUPRE. Carnot's Nationalism. *South Atlantic Quar.*, July.

HENRY BERTRAM HILL. Gouverneur Morris, témoin de la Révolution française. *Rév. Fr., Rev. Hist. Contemp.*, June.

J. GROSSBART. La presse polonaise et la Révolution française. *An. Hist. Rév. Fr.*, June.

F. ALENGRY. La philosophie de la Révolution française dans son expression la plus élevée: Condorcet. *Rév. Fr., Rev. Hist. Contemp.*, June.

P. SAGNAC. Les grands courants d'idées et de sentiments envers 1789. *Rev. Hist. Pol. et Const.*, July.

ROBERT LACOUR-GAYET. Les idées financières de Napoléon. *Rev. Paris*, June.

NICOLAS JAPIKSE. Die niederländische Neutralitätspolitik in ihrer historischen Entwickelung. *Zeitsch. f. Pol.*, XXVIII, no. 5.

J.-PH. DE WESSENBERG. Notes sur Talleyrand, 1831-34. *Rev. Paris*, June.

R. A. WINNACKER. The Third French Republic, 1870-1914: Bibliographical Article. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Sept.

B. MIRKINE-GUETZÉVITCH. La République de Gambetta. *Rev. Hist. Pol. et Const.*, July.

M. KALECKI. The Lesson of the Blum Experiment. *Ec. Jour.*, Mar.

DOCUMENTS

PIERRE GAXOTTE. Lettres de Madame de la Poupelinière au duc de Richelieu. *Rev. Paris*, July.

NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

ARTICLES

HANS JENSEN. De danske bönders undertrykkelse og frigjörelse. *Nordisk Tidskrift*, 1938, no. 3.

ARNE ODD JOHNSEN. Hvordan Kristiansund vokste frem: En økonomiskhistorisk studie [cont.]. *Hist. Tidsskr.* (Nor.), 1938, no. 2.

SVEN ULRIC PALME. Rättegångsprotokollet från Linköpingsräfsten år 1600: En källkritisk granskning. *Hist. Tidskr.* (Sw.), 1938, no. 1.

TORVALD T:SON HÖJER. Alberoni och den svenska Madagaskarexpeditionen 1718. *Ibid.*

F. W. MORÉN. Några problem i samband med tronföljdsfrågan 1809. *Ibid.*

BENGT HILDEBRAND. Akademihistorisk Litteratur. *Ibid.*

JACOB S. WORM-MÜLLER. Overgangen fra seil til damp og mennene som ledet den. *Samtiden*, 1938, no. 4.

KARL J. HÖJER. Den svenska socialvårdens utveckling under senare år. *Nordisk Tidskrift*, 1938, no. 4.

K.-E. LINDEMAN. Norden i utrikespolitiskt perspektiv. *Finsk Tidskrift*, Feb.

OLAF GJERLØW. Kilder til nyere norsk historie. *Ord och Bild*, 1938, no. 1.

WILLIAM W. FREIJ. Det korporative Lettland. *Svensk Tidskrift*, 1938, no. 5.

DOCUMENTS

CARL RISE HANSEN, ed. Et kvægskatteregister fra Korsør len 1566. *Danske Magazin*, ser. VII, II, no. 3.

AAGE FRIIS, ed. Brev fra Ove Høegh Guldberg, til Grev M. G. Rosencrone, Aarhus 10. Decbr. 1790. *Ibid.*

Id. Kong Oscar II.s breve til Henning Hamilton. *Ibid.*

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala. 1936-37. Band 30. (Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksell; Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1938, pp. 309, 210, 229, 20 *kr.*) Of the three studies in this volume, only the third is of direct interest to the historian. This is a two hundred page essay (summary in German, pp. 207-229) by Hugo Valentin, entitled "Fredrik den Store inför Eftervärlden: En Historiografisk Studie" (also priced separately at six *kronor*). Up-to-date and well-proportioned, it covers the voluminous literature, mounting ever higher as the decades go by, on Frederick the Great. The analysis makes clear in what various ways Frederick was judged by the enlightenment, the Napoleonic period, romanticism, mid-century liberalism, the period of national unification, the eras of Bismarck and William II, the left wing socialists before 1914, and the adherents of the Weimar Republic after 1919. Beyond a single closing reference there is no effort to treat of historiography under the Nazi regime. The analysis throughout is well grounded and the exposition wholly objective. O. J. FALNES.

Brest-Litowsk: Verhandlungen und Friedensverträge im Osten 1917 bis 1918. By VOLKWART JOHN. [Beiträge zur Geschichte der nachbismarckischen Zeit und des Weltkriegs.] (Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1937, pp. 149, 5.40 M.) This dissertation by a student of Fritz Kern deals with a topic which deserves

detailed study. But the subject is probably much too difficult for a beginner, and in spite of the fairly large collection of sources which the author has used, he has not succeeded in writing more than a superficial account of the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. He does not recognize the underlying political forces and the involved political issues. His notions of the internal history of Germany during the war are hazy. He tells us that the idea of a peace on the basis of the *status quo ante* was embraced by an overwhelming majority of the German people. The reader is left completely in the dark about the propaganda for annexations carried out by a vociferous and influential minority in the earlier years of the war and about the virtual dictatorship of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, which made the annexationists the directors of German affairs in the latter part of the war. That would have formed the proper background for the treatment of the sharp tension existing within the German delegation between Kühlmann and General Hoffmann. The German occupation of the Eastern European states from the Baltic to the Black Sea is represented as nothing but a temporary military measure. We find the same lack of critical judgment even more pronounced in the discussion of Austro-German relations, of the policy of the Allied powers, and of the Russian government. Though the author has apparently striven to attain an objective attitude, the most essential points have been missed. The annex contains a few highly valuable documents from the Vienna State Archives concerning negotiations between the German, Austrian, and Ukrainian delegations at Brest-Litovsk and between the German and Austrian governments at Berlin.

HAJO HOLBORN.

ARTICLES

HAROLD S. BENDER. Conrad Grebel, the Founder of Swiss Anabaptism. *Church Hist.*, VII, no. 2.

JOHN C. WENGER. The Life and Work of Pilgram Marpeck. *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, July.

ADOLF ZYCHA. Über die Anfänge der kapitalistischen Ständebildung in Deutschland [I.]. *Vierteljahrsch. f. Soz. u. Wirtschaftsgesch.*, XXXI, no. 2.

EDGAR KRAUSEN. Eibenholzmonopole des 16. Jahrhunderts in Bayern. *Ibid.*, no. 1.

P. WENTZCKE. Die alte Universität Strassburg und das Reich, 1621-1793. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLVIII, no. 2.

W. MOMMSEN. Zur Beurteilung des Absolutismus. *Ibid.*, no. 1.

W. ANDREAS. Friedrich der Grosse, der siebenjährige Krieg und der Hubertusburger Friede. *Ibid.*, no. 2.

ANTON ZOTTMANN. Die Siedlungspolitik Friedrichs des Grossen. *Ständisches Leben*, VII, nos. 3-4.

B. AMANN. Staat und Christentum bei Fichte. *Ibid.*

WILLY ANDREAS. Erziehungspläne für Karl August von Weimar. *Arch. f. Kulturgesch.*, XXVIII, no. 1.

G. H. THEUNISSEN. Vom Wesen des rheinischen Journalisten: Ein Versuch über Görres und Heine. *Dichtung und Volkstum*, XXXIX, no. 1.

HEINZ KABERMANN. Volk und Staat bei Karl Marx. *Zeitsch. f. Pol.*, XXVIII, no. 4.

A. WEBER. Moltke als Geopolitiker. *Zeitsch. f. Geopol.*, June.

HAROLD LENZ. Franz Grillparzer's Political Ideas. *Jour. Eng. and Ger. Philol.*, XXXVII, no. 2.

HANS ROTHFELS. Bismarck's Social Policy and the Problem of State Socialism in Germany. *Sociolog. Rev.*, XXX, no. 1.

RUDOLF CRAEMER. Über die völkische Haltung Treitschkes. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLVIII, no. 1.

PETER SCHUWALOW. Der Berliner Kongress. *Berl. Monatsh.*, July, Aug.

LUDWIG RASCHDAU. Mein letzter Besuch beim Fürsten Bismarck. *Ibid.*

RICHARD MOELLER. Bismarcks Bündnisangebot an England vom Januar 1889. *Hist. Vierteljahrsch.*, XXXI, no. 3.

E. Buchfink. Moltke und Schlieffen. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLVIII, no. 2.
H. A. DeWeerd. Schlieffen. *Infantry Jour.*, Nov.
Id. Von Hindenburg. *Ibid.*, Mar.; *Coast Artillery Jour.*, Mar.
John W. Wheeler Bennett. Ludendorff: The Soldier and the Politician. *Virginia Quar. Rev.*, Spring.
Gordon Gordon-Smith. The German Breakthrough on the Danube Front in 1915. *Field Artillery Jour.*, Jan.
Friedrich Thimme. Der Ausklang der deutsch-englischen Bündisverhandlungen 1901, nach Briefen des Botschafters Graf Wolff-Metternich. *Berl. Monatsh.*, June.
Franz Hofmann. Karl Adam: Zum Werk eines Theologen. *Hochland*, July.
Mary E. Townsend. The German Colonies and the Third Reich. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, June.
Friedrich Karrenberg. Der Anteil des Luthertums an Staatslehre und Politik in der Gegenwart. *Schmollers Jahrb.*, LXII, no. 2.
Walter Eucken. Die Überwindung des Historismus. *Ibid.*
Bernhard Laum. Entgegnung zu Euckens Aufsatz. *Ibid.*
Alice F. A. Mutton. The Black Forest: Its Human Geography. *Ec. Geog.*, XIV, no. 2.
Roger H. Wells. The Financial Relations of Church and State in Germany, 1919-1937. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, Mar.
Gerhard Krebs. A Step toward *Reichsreform* in Germany. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June.
C. de Grunwald. L'Autriche et le décabrisme. *Monde slave*, Feb.
François Dupleix. L'héritage de Schuschnigg. *Ibid.*, Mar.
Stephen Ereky. The Origin of Modern Local Government in Hungary. *Hung. Quar.*, IV, no. 2.
R. B. Mowat. Beust. *Ibid.*
Emil Neugeboren. Die Nationalitätenfrage im Ungarn der Vorkriegszeit. *Ungar. Jahrb.*, XVIII, no. 1.
Zsombor Szász. The Resurrection of Hungary. *Hung. Quar.*, IV, no. 2.
George Ottlik. Coloman Kánya de Kánya. *Ibid.*

Documents

Otto Müller. Joseph Viktor von Scheffel und Otto Müller, 1854-1861. *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, LIII, no. 2.

Italy

Gaudens Megaro

Lucrèce Borgia, 1480-1519. By Fred Bérence. [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris, Payot, 1937, pp. 357, 32 fr.) One wonders at the popular conception that this beautiful daughter of Pope Alexander VI still needs champions, when all the reputable historians of the last fifty years or more have been unanimous in asserting that the calumnies uttered by her contemporary detractors are false. What has been said by Reumont, Gregorovius, Pastor, and Creighton on this score is repeated here; Bérence has nothing new to contribute. On other matters, where he begs to differ, he is not on sure ground. He refuses to join the chorus of praise for Isabella d'Este of Mantua, judging her intellectually mediocre, proud to a fault, cold, unsympathetic. In this there is a suspicion of a biographer swayed by dramatic instinct to seek a perfect foil for a heroine who loved and suffered much. He goes contrary to the best authorities in asserting that Pinturicchio used Lucrezia as his model for his painting of Saint Catherine. While this biography of Lucrezia will be of more interest to the general public than to scholars, it merits classification above the category of books about Renaissance characters whose appeal is directed to the appetites of the idle. The book is founded on the authoritative work of Gregorovius, written sixty and more years ago, and in no way supersedes its model. Occasionally this version curtails the account written

by Gregorovius; often it augments and embellishes the earlier narrative; at some points it introduces subjects extraneous to Gregorovius's pages, such as Egyptian mythology, Savonarola, or the sad history of Prince Gem (Djem). Bérence goes quite beyond Gregorovius in giving more space to literal translation of scurrilous attacks on Pope Alexander VI. Readers of today are presumed to be better served when the juicy bits of history come raw to the table.

ERNEST W. NELSON.

Die literarische Form von Machiavellis "Principe": Eine morphologische Untersuchung. By MARIANNE WEICKERT. (Würzburg, Konrad Triltsch, 1937, pp. v, 118, 3.60 M.) The author endeavors to show the existence of two different works within the brief span of Machiavelli's *Principe.* In her opinion the Florentine secretary set out to write a prescriptive admonitory tract for the benefit of rulers but, having reached a certain point of development, was carried away by his creative enthusiasm and proceeded to compose a work of pure imagination. This is to all intents a drama. It might be called "The Deeds of the Prince". It is a description of the victorious struggle of a hero against a hostile fortune, and as such it cannot be looked upon as an embodiment of exemplary maxims. It is an eternal creation of the imagination transcending all practical applications and rising beyond the mind and intentions of the author himself. The failure to grasp this dual nature of the *Principe* has, in our author's mind, led to the legend of the "evil Machiavel". Two characters arise out of the pages of the *Principe:* one is the prince, dynamic hero of cunning and bravery, now lion and now fox, who finally succeeds in downing fortune; the other is the figure of the murderous and treacherous Machiavelli, product of a progressive misunderstanding of the book. The malignancy of fate, which played such a role in the drama of the prince, has continued to hound the author through the centuries. Posterity, which failed to recognize the hero he created, which shut its eyes to the deeds of the lion, concentrated its attention on the exploits of the fox. Machiavelli was made over into the eternal embodiment of deception, and even his defenders have been unable to remove from his noble face the hideous mask of immorality which for centuries has concealed his true features. D. BIGONGIARI.

Scritti sul Risorgimento. By H. NELSON GAY. Raccolti e ordinati da Tomaso Sillani. Con una Premessa del Compilatore e una Prefazione di Emilio Bodrero. (Rome, Rassegna Italiana, 1937, pp. xxiv, 284.) This volume is a memorial to H. Nelson Gay, American historian, for nearly forty years a resident of Rome, prepared by his Italian associates. It is made up of essays of his drawn from various journals, Italian and American, to illustrate the three interests that absorbed Gay's alert and active spirit—the Risorgimento, the cause of Italy, and the relations of Italy with the English-speaking world. It signalizes the fact that the Italians came to regard Gay as one of themselves. No wonder! To him from youth the Risorgimento, which drew him from Harvard to Italy, was a great epic of emancipation, and he devoted heart, wealth, and leisure to preparing himself to be its historian. But the cause of Italy became his own. In writing the preface to *Italy's Great War and her National Aspirations* (1917), a propaganda volume, he threw off the mantle of the historian and denounced "The Curse of Austrian Domination in Italy down to 1866" with white-hot indignation. The same attachment carried him into Fascism. His only published book, *Strenuous Italy* (1927), was a defense of Fascism by its works. The rest of his writing, fully represented in this volume, consists of articles in which he fashioned a setting for *documenti inediti,* largely drawn from his Risorgimento collection. They are

exclusively concerned with politics or biography—with literature when a man of letters, Keats, Byron, Shelley, or Whittier, was concerned. They are side lights, always projected against a background of thorough political information. His great work is his collection. He gave his best to Italy, but with deep satisfaction he saw the great foundation he had built transferred to the library of the American university from which he had set forth to build it.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

ARTICLES

ROBERTO BACHI. La demografia dell'Ebraismo italiano prima della emancipazione. *Rass. Mensile di Israel,* Apr.

I. H. STEIN. Missioni italiane in Etiopia. *Rass. Ital.,* May.

AMBROGINO CARACCIOLO DI TORCHIAROLO. Notizie edite ed inedite su Francesco Caracciolo. *Rass. Stor. Risorgimento,* Apr.

DOMENICO SPADONI. Aspirazioni nazionali unitarie nello Stato Romano dal 1796 al 1799. *N. Riv. Stor.,* Jan.

ACHILLE NORSA. La giovinezza e le prime esperienze politiche di Marco Minghetti, 1818-1860 [cont.]. *Rass. Stor. Risorgimento,* Apr.

ACHILLE DE RUBERTIS. Il Tommaseo, il Leopardi e il Giordani, con documenti inediti. *Ibid.*

SANDRO BORTOLOTTI. La stampa germanica nei riguardi del movimento nazionale italiano negli anni 1841-1847. *Ibid.*

ATTILIO MILANO. Un secolo di stampa periodica ebraica in Italia. *Rass. Mensile di Israel,* Apr.

GUIDO BACHI. Il regime giuridico delle Comunità israelitiche in Italia dal 1848 ai giorni nostri. *Ibid.*

EMILIA MORELLI. L'archivio di Nicola Fabrizi. *Rass. Stor. Risorgimento,* Apr.

TANCREDI GALIMBERTI. Il processo dei quattro Italiani: La condanna di Giuseppe Mazzini. *Rass. Stor. Risorgimento,* Apr.

ANTONIO PANELLA. In margine alla relazione del 1870 sul riordinamento degli Archivi di Stato, II: Gli archivi dei Comuni. *Arch. Stor. Ital.,* 1938, no. 1.

DOMENICO SPADONI. Perchè la Corsica nel 1870-71 non tornò all'Italia. *Arch. Stor. Corsica,* Jan.

ALESSANDRO LUZIO. Il Cardinale Rampolla e il Marchese Di Rudinì, con documenti inediti. *N. Antol.,* May 1.

GIUSEPPE VOLPI DI MISURATA. Lo sviluppo industriale dell'Italia fascista. *Rass. Ital.,* May.

J. HOLLAND ROSE. Struggles for the Mediterranean. *Contemporary Rev.,* Apr.

ANGELO CRESPI. The Significance of Gabriele D'Annunzio. *Ibid.*

C. J. S. SPRIGGE. D'Annunzio's Italy and England. *Fortnightly Rev.,* Apr.

LUIGI VILLARI. British-Italian Friendship Restored. *Nineteenth Century,* May.

J. S. BARNES. The Economic Situation in Italy. *Ibid.*

GEORGE MARTELLI. The Italian Challenge. *Fortnightly Rev.,* May.

ALFONSO PACIFICI. Per una coscienza storica degli ebrei d'Italia. *Rass. Mensile di Israel,* Apr.

DOCUMENTS

LEONARDO MORDINI, ed. Il carteggio privato Cipriani-Ricasoli nel 1859. *Arch. Stor. Corsica,* Jan.

RUSSIA

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

Khrestomatiya po istorii SSSR [readings in the history of USSR], Volume I. Edited by V. I. LEBEDEV and others. (Moscow, Uchebno-pedag. izdat., 1937, pp. 407, 5.50 r.) This first volume of excerpts from sources covers the period from the earliest times to the end of the seventeenth century. Archaic terms are explained in footnotes, and there is a chronological table at the end. The work is intended for teachers of history in secondary schools.

Fürst G. A. Potemkin: Untersuchungen zu seiner Lebensgeschichte. By Theresia Adamczyk. (Emsdetten, Heinr. & J. Lechte, 1936, pp. vi, 127, 3.20 M.) Unlike several recent writers on the subject, Dr. Adamczyk proceeds from the sound premise that Potemkin the statesman is immeasurably more important than Potemkin the lover. In a brief introductory chapter she deals with the Potemkin "legend" and shows how little reliable are many of the contemporary accounts emanating either from badly informed and prejudiced foreigners or from Potemkin's Russian rivals and enemies. The next chapter, the longest in the book, is an extremely useful summary of Potemkin's life and principal activities, which emphasizes his work connected with the organization and settlement of the Russian south. Even from such a brief review the reader can obtain a proper idea of Potemkin's stature as an "empire builder" and administrator. The following chapter contains much interesting material on Potemkin's reforms in the Russian army, while the last chapter is devoted to his part in the diplomacy and strategy of Catherine's second Turkish war. There is an extensive bibliography, including over two hundred items, in which I have noticed only one serious omission, that of R. H. Lord's *The Second Partition of Poland,* in which Potemkin's "southern projects" are discussed at some length. I hope that Dr. Adamczyk will expand her present book, which is only a collection of studies on Potemkin, into a full-size monograph that will do justice to one of Russia's most remarkable statesmen. Michael Karpovich.

Graf A. Voroncov, A. N. Radiščev und der "Gnadenbrief für das Russische Volk". By Georg Sacke. (Emsdetten, Heinr. & J. Lechte, n. d., pp. 30, 2 M.) This little study deals with the project of a "Charter of Privileges for the Russian People", the granting of which Alexander I had been considering shortly after his accession. It has been known that the project was presented to the emperor by Count Vorontsov. Recently, however, V. Semennikov advanced the idea that the real author of the project was the liberal publicist, A. Radishchev, while another Russian scholar, I. Trotski, spoke of a collaboration between Vorontsov and Radishchev, with the latter "radicalizing" the views of the former. A careful analysis has led Dr. Sacke to the rejection of both hypotheses and to the conclusion that the project was the work of Vorontsov himself, who acted on this occasion as a spokesman for a certain group among the Russian nobility. The author argues his point quite convincingly and incidentally makes many observations of considerable interest to students of the history of political ideas in Russia. Michael Karpovich.

Rossiiskaya kontr-revolutziya v 1917-1918 gg [Russian counterrevolution in 1917-18]. By General N. N. Golovin. Twelve volumes. (Printed in Tallinn, Esthonia; a supplement to "Illustrirovannaya Rossiya", Paris; 1937, pp. 168, 159, 114, 87, 105, 116, 130, 154, 112, 77, 136, 96.) By the Russian counterrevolution the author means the complex movement which combatted "the destructive forces of the revolution". The present study traces this movement from the beginning of the revolution to the end of 1918. General Golovin believes that the later phases of the movement should properly be treated in two separate monographs: "The War of the Whites and the Reds" and "The Green Movement and the Peasant Uprisings". The text of each chapter is followed by supplements containing documentary material, and there are many maps. The author professes to have sought "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth" but realizes that the time for complete scientific objectivity has not yet arrived. The work was carried out under the auspices of the Russian Revolution Institute of the Hoover War Library at Stanford University and copyrighted by this institute.

Gzeires tach [the disasters of 1648]. (Wilno, 1938, pp. 279.) This volume, issued under the auspices of the Section of History of the international Yiddish Scientific Institute, contains a Yiddish translation, made by W. Lacki-Bertoldi, of "The Cossack Swamp", the Hebrew chronicle, first published in Venice in 1653, which is one of the sources for the history of the Cossack rebellion of 1648. There is also an extensive introduction by Dr. Jacob Shatzky, which is a notable study of the effects of the Cossack wars on Ukrainian Jewry. Dr. I. Israelsohn contributes a substantial biographical note on the author of the chronicle, Rabbi Nathan Note Hannover (*ca.* 1620-83).

ARTICLES

CLARENCE L. ANDREWS. The Historical Russian Library of Alaska. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, Apr.

G. LOZINSKI. Russkaya pechat' v Alyaske i dlya Alyaski [Russian publications in and for Alaska]. *Vremennik Obschestva druzeĭ russkoĭ knigi*, IV.

P. MILYUKOV. Pervopechatnik Ivan Fiodorov [Ivan Fedorov, the first Russian printer]. *Ibid.*

ANTOINE FLOROVSKY. La littérature historique soviétique-russe. *Bull. Fédération des sociétés historiques de l'Europe orientale*, Warsaw, 1934-1935. VI-VII.

ADOLF TÖRNGREN. Mystiken kring Alexander I:s död: Nya bidrag till problemets belysning [cont.]. *Finsk Tidskrift*, Feb.

EUGENE HORVÁTH. Origins of the Crimean War. *South Eastern Affairs*, VII.

G. MÉQUET. La collectivisation agricole dans l'U. R. S. S. *An. Hist. Éc. et Soc.*, Jan.

LAZAR VOLIN. Agrarian Individualism in the Soviet Union: Its Rise and Decline. *Agricultural Hist.*, Jan., Apr.

W. LADEJINSKY. Soviet State Farms, II. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, June.

FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

Notes on Far Eastern Studies in America. Edited by CHARLES B. FAHS. (Washington, American Council of Learned Societies, No. 2, 1938, pp. iv, 41.) This periodic publication, sponsored by the Committees on Chinese and Japanese Studies of the A. C. L. S., contains articles and miscellaneous notes and reports relating to research and teaching in the field of Far Eastern languages, literatures, and history now rapidly developing in America.

The Birth of China: A Study of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization. By HERRLEE GLESSNER CREEL. (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1937, pp. 402, $3.75.) This book has already won its merited place in the English-speaking world. It gives a clear and very readable account of the origins of Chinese civilization, largely based on the results of excavations and critical research of recent years. Living in Peiping in close touch with Chinese and foreign scholars alike, some of whom have worked a lifetime in this field, at the very time, moreover, when the most startling discoveries were made, the author was able to turn to the best possible account the brief four years which he devoted to his study. He used his time well, but he only invites a smile when he puts these four years forward with the obvious intention to impress. It would have been well if throughout the book a little less emphasis had been used; nevertheless, in spite of a tendency to overstatement the author is generally careful in his assertions. His book will certainly do much to dispel many erroneous notions about ancient Chinese history. The general reader is fortunate in having the rich results of modern scholarship placed before him in such an attractive form.

J. J. L. DUYVENDAK.

Tibet and Her Neighbors. By E. T. Williams. [University of California Publications.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1937, pp. 99-139, 50 cents.) Dr. Williams has condensed within forty pages a pertinent summary of Tibet's relations with China, Great Britain, and Russia from earliest beginnings to the present. On the question of Tibet's modernization he states that it can "be brought about only very gradually" on account of the continued prejudice of Tibetans against foreigners and foreign education.

Retreat of the West: The White Man's Adventure in Eastern Asia. By No-Yong Park. (Boston, Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1937, pp. xiv, 336, $3.00.) The theme of this readable and by no means flattering account of the relations between Western nations and Eastern Asia is "the undeniable fact that the western powers began their retreat from Eastern Asia nearly a century ago, and, other things being equal, nothing will stop their retreat for many years to come" (p. 3). The author begins with an account of successive Asiatic invasions of Europe from the time of the Huns to the Mongols, a period which he calls the "Tutelage of the West". What follows is a rapid survey of the international relations of the Far East since the arrival of the Portuguese, with the emphasis on Japan's rise to the position of a world power and China's awakening, which will result, he thinks, in the eclipse of Western empires in Eastern lands. There is little in the book that is new or startling, unless it is the thesis, which must needs be accepted *cum grano salis.*

China, the Powers, and the Washington Conference. By Albert E. Kane. (Shanghai, Commercial Press; distributed by Brentano, 1937, pp. vi, 233, $2.00.) This volume covers the historical background of the powers' involvement in China as well as the treaties signed at Washington in 1921-22. A legitimate criticism might be that the author has sought to compress too much of the record of foreign intervention in China since 1839 into the first chapter, which in consequence tends to become sketchy. For the student or lay reader who comes fresh to the subject, however, this volume supplies a setting to the conference which is extremely valuable. Its main chapters deal with the Four Power and Nine Power treaties; issues affecting Shantung, Manchuria, and special foreign privileges in China, such as extraterritoriality and the conventional tariff, are also treated. The author shares ex-Secretary of State Stimson's opinion that the Washington treaties were interdependent, so that violation of one brought all into question. He also feels that the phases of co-operative action by the powers with respect to China were, even if motivated by selfish aims, usually beneficial both to themselves and China; periods of rivalry were disastrous, more especially to China. The book is extensively documented; while it does not blaze new fields, it provides a useful compilation of contemporary and background materials.

T. A. Bisson.

Problems of the Pacific, 1936: Aims and Results of Social and Economic Policies in Pacific Countries. Proceedings of the Sixth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1936. Edited by W. L. Holland and Kate L. Mitchell, assisted by Harriet Moore and Richard Pyke. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, n. d., pp. ix, 470, $5.00.) The editors have admirably discharged their task of summarizing the discussions and statements made at the round tables of the conference. These round tables concerned themselves with the domestic problems and the foreign policies of the four major Pacific countries: the United States, Japan, the U.S.S.R., and China, while a fifth round table considered "the changing balance of political forces in the Pacific and the possibilities of peaceful

adjustment". The discussions at this conference were strengthened by the presence for the first time of regular Russian delegates and the closer co-operation of the French through the appointment of regular delegates from that country. In the documentary section six of the sixty-odd data-papers presented at the conference are reprinted, including the following excellent studies: W. W. Lockwood, jr., "Trade and Trade Rivalry between the United States and Japan"; Quincy Wright, "The Working of Diplomatic Machinery in the Pacific"; and E. Raikhman, B. Vredensky, *et al.*, "The Resources and Economic Development of the Soviet Far East". The appendixes contain information on the membership and organization of the conference, a list of the data-papers, and the round-table discussion syllabus. The material in this book may be fairly characterized as well documented, objective, and balanced.

ARTICLES

EDWIN O. REISCHAUER. Bibliography [an abstract of important articles in the *Shigakuzasshi*, vol. 68, and *Shirin*, vol. 22]. *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Stud.*, July.

CH'I SSU-HO. Feudalism and Confucian Thought (in Chinese). *Yenching Jour. Chinese Stud.*, Dec.

T'ANG YUNG-T'UNG. Notes on the History of Chinese Buddhism (in Chinese). *Ibid.*

ROLAND BRADDELL. An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula [cont.]. *Jour. Malayan Branch Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, XV, no. 3.

J. V. MILLS. Malaya in the Wu-Pei-Chih Charts. *Ibid.*

HAN-YI FENG and J. K. SHRYOCK. The Historical Origins of the Lolo. *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Stud.*, July.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL. Malaya on a Fifteenth-Century Chinese Chart. *Geograph. Rev.*, July.

HENRI BERNARD. L'Encyclopédie Astronomique du Père Schall: La réforme du calendrier chinois sous l'influence de Clavius, de Galilée et de Kepler [cont.]. *Monumenta Serica*, III.

K. C. HSIAO. Li Chih, an Iconoclast of the Sixteenth Century. *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, Apr.

C. R. BOXER. Macao Three Hundred Years ago as described by Antonio Bocarro in 1635. *Ibid.*

HUGH BORTON. Peasant Uprisings in Japan of the Tokugawa Period. *Trans. Asiatic Soc. Jap.*, XVI.

L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH. China's First Knowledge of the Americas. *Geograph. Rev.*, July.

WALTER FUCHS. Materialien zur Kartographie der Mandju-Zeit. *Monumenta Serica*, III.

J. J. L. DUYVENDAK. The Last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court, 1794-1795. *T'oung Pao*, XXXIV.

HAROLD COLVOCORRESSES. The Capture and Destruction of the Barrier Forts [Canton, China, 1856]. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, May.

HU SHIH. The Westernization of China and Japan. *Amerasia*, July.

HARRY PAXTON HOWARD. Chinese Cosmopolitanism and Modern Nationalism. *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, May.

EDGAR SNOW. China's Fighting Generalissimo. *For. Affairs*, July.

UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

America's Yesterday. By F. MARTIN BROWN. (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1937, pp. 319, $3.50.) All students of American prehistory must have long felt the need of a comprehensive work that would serve as an introduction to the rapidly accumulating special literature of the subject. That need the present book has evidently been designed to fill. That it not quite adequately does so is less a matter for surprise than disappointment. A scientific popularization, satisfactory alike to the general reader and the specialist, is, of course, a practical impossibility. The

general reader will find in Dr. Brown's volume an overburden of factual material and will miss the romantic note seldom absent from popular writings on the American Indian and his works. The specialist will pause to admire the lack of sentiment and hasten on to pull the factual material to pieces. Unfortunately, the latter course is all too easy. Certainly in those portions dealing with material familiar to the present reviewer, the so-called Mound Area of the eastern United States, there are conspicuous misstatements of what are commonly accepted as facts. For example, I doubt if any qualified student would share the author's opinion that "many indications" point to Fort Ancient as the forerunner of the Hopewell culture (p. 257), since we know that the Fort Ancient culture was in full swing at the time of the first white contacts in the Ohio valley. Such an opinion, moreover, betrays a serious lack of familiarity with the accepted scheme of culture classification for the region as a whole. Geographical errors are, however, far more annoying. For example, Dr. Brown puts his "Cumberland association of Mound Builders", by which he presumably refers to the well-known Tennessee-Cumberland culture, in the Cumberland mountains instead of along the Cumberland valley, where it belongs. Such errors of fact point to a surprising lack of familiarity with the general conditions of the archaeologic problem in this area, or at least a lofty carelessness in the handling of them. The curious thing is that in spite of such obvious shortcomings of detail the author's general statements and conclusions, if one may speak of conclusions in connection with American prehistory, are perfectly sound. One would not hesitate to recommend this book to anyone desirous of a general picture of the present status of American archaeology. The serious student may be more exacting. The illustrations, one feels, could have done a great deal more for the subject. One misses, particularly, examples of architecture and sculpture of the "Old Empire" Mayas.

PHILIP PHILLIPS.

A Servant of the Crown in England and in North America, 1756-1761. Based upon the papers of John Appy, Secretary and Judge Advocate of His Majesty's Forces. By NORREYS JEPHSON O'CONOR. [The Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York.] (New York, Appleton-Century, 1938, pp. x, 256, $3.00.) Historians anticipating that a biography of John Appy would offer a new interpretation of his successive employers—Loudoun, Abercrombie, and Amherst—or provide inside information on the military administration of the French and Indian War will be disappointed in this book. The author is by no means to be blamed. Appy's personal papers are meager and uninformative, consisting of a few letters to Haldimand and his personal account books recording his expenditures in London and America from 1756 to 1761. These the author has fully embroidered, accomplishing a commendable piece of research in identifying Appy's purchases and therefrom reconstructing his activities, tastes, and character. Various items serve as points of departure for excursions by the author into military history, on which comments by Appy are conspicuously lacking. Thus, because Appy's accounts show that he prepared himself for the field in 1758 and moved with headquarters to Albany and Fort Edward, Mr. O'Conor writes a chapter on Abercrombie's unsuccessful attack on Fort Ticonderoga—an excellent summary but adding nothing new to the story or to the portrait of John Appy. Mr. O'Conor has reproduced the account books which were his principal source, appended translations of the French letters to Haldimand, and included a section of notes arranged by chapters. Unfortunately, in these notes the sources for quotations in the text are difficult to trace, as no numbers are used. There are several illustrations and two maps. Mr. O'Conor, being primarily a creative

writer, has lightened his historical research by occasional digressions into incidents which have only their intrinsic interest to recommend them for inclusion in the narrative. Such talents deserve a stronger subject; men in the eighteenth century far more eminent and interesting than John Appy and ones whose papers are available have yet to be discovered by biographers.

HOWARD H. PECKHAM.

Doctors on Horseback: Pioneers of American Medicine. By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. (New York, Viking, 1937, pp. xiv, 370, $2.75.) Mr. Flexner, a journalist and son of Dr. Simon Flexner of the Rockefeller Institute, writes in an entertaining and at times brilliant manner the lives of seven outstanding physicians of America: John Morgan, Benjamin Rush, Ephraim McDowell, Daniel Drake, William Beaumont, and, jointly, Crawford W. Long and William T. G. Morton. Morgan, one of the most brilliant physicians in the colonies, became medical director of the army during the Revolution, only to die in a hovel with "scarcely friends left enough to bury him". Rush, a few years later, rode to fame with the new democracy and became the first great doctor of the United States, whose medical theories, bad as they were, lasted for the next three generations of physicians. McDowell pioneered in abdominal surgery before the days of anesthesia or asepsis. Drake, a genius, molded the physicians of the Mississippi Valley as he stepped beyond the Alleghenies. Beaumont, the greatest of the group, founded gastric physiology through his efforts in experimenting upon a wounded trapper in the wilds of Michigan. Long and Morton share honors in the discovery of ether anesthesia. Popular in style but accurate in contents, Flexner's book is well written, interesting, and stimulating. He has told an old story in a new and splendid way, with fairness and good judgment.

HENRY R. VIETS.

Benjamin Franklin's Own Story: His Autobiography continued from 1759 to his Death in 1790 with a Biographical Sketch drawn from his Writings. By NATHAN G. GOODMAN. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937, pp. 268, $2.50.) Franklin's unfinished *Autobiography* is here reprinted with careful annotation. The text is that which John Bigelow published in 1868 and contains the "draft scheme" as well as the random observations on the period from 1757 to 1760 which Franklin penned the year before his death. Dr. Goodman's contribution is far from negligible. His introduction is an interesting history of the *Autobiography* through its various editions. From Poor Richard's letters, essays, and other papers he has prepared a comprehensive sketch of the years after 1757. So judiciously has he chosen his material and so ingeniously arranged it, that he has succeeded in retaining Franklin's engaging literary style. No phase of a richly varied life is neglected. Against the background of experiences as colonial agent in London, as member of the Continental Congress, as a commissioner to France, as a peace negotiator at the close of the War for Independence, are set the scientific interests, the philosophical opinions, and the international contacts of Benjamin Franklin, Printer. JOHN A. KROUT.

The History and Development of the Fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution. By NELSON B. LASSON. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, pp. 154, xiv, $1.50.) The Fourth Amendment prohibits unreasonable searches and seizures and general search warrants. Three of the four chapters into which this monograph is divided deal with the historical background of this guarantee. In the first chapter, after a few perfunctory references to analogous legal rules in

the ancient world, there is a discussion of the English precedents, particularly of the Wilkes case. The second chapter deals with writs of assistance in the colonies, Paxton's case receiving the major share of attention. Then follows a survey of the discussions in the state ratifying conventions in 1787-88 and in the Congress of 1789, discussions which led to the adoption of the Fourth Amendment. Although the final chapter is entitled "Development of the Principle by the Supreme Court", there is less than a page on the cases decided before 1886. To the present reviewer this appears to be a study which was not ready for publication. It gives the impression of having been written and published to fulfill requirements for the doctorate. As a piece of research it shows a considerable degree of diligence in the investigation of both source and secondary materials, even though they have not always been very critically weighed or employed. It falls short most seriously in its failure to exhibit an understanding of the relation of the problem of searches and seizures to the development of which it was a part. There is neither introduction nor conclusion. BENJAMIN F. WRIGHT, JR.

Letters relating to Gustaf Unonius and the Early Swedish Settlers in Wisconsin. Translated and edited by GEORGE M. STEPHENSON, assisted by OLGA WOLD HANSEN. (Rock Island, Augustana Historical Society, 1937, pp. 151, $2.00.)

The Armenians in Massachusetts. Written and compiled by the Federal Writers' Project of the W. P. A. of Massachusetts. The Armenian Historical Society, Co-operating Sponsor. [American Guide Series.] (Boston, Armenian Historical Society, 1937, pp. 148, $1.00.)

The Poles in the Early History of Texas. By MIECISLAUS HAIMAN. (Chicago, Polish R. C. Union of America, 1936, pp. 64.)

Polish Pioneers of Virginia and Kentucky. By MIECISLAUS HAIMAN. With Notes on Genealogy of the Sadowski Family, by A. CLAY SANDUSKY. (*Ibid.*, 1937, pp. 84.)

These four monographs are additional evidence of a steadily growing interest in the contributions of immigrant groups to the building of American civilization and of the fact that these groups themselves are fast becoming conscious of their own importance. Professor Stephenson, to whom historians are already heavily indebted for his excellent work on the Swedes in America, here presents a brief account of the activities of Gustaf Unonius and a collection of letters written by him and other Swedish immigrants, published originally in Swedish newspapers and now made available for the first time in translation and carefully edited. They throw light on conditions among the immigrants who came into the Middle West in the two decades before the Civil War and their many-sided experiences in a new land. The book on the Armenians has been carefully done under the expert direction of Dr. R. A. Billington and proves that much of permanent value to the historian may come from the activities of white-collared workers on relief. Other studies of this kind are in the making in a number of states; some have already appeared. The Armenians in Massachusetts are, to be sure, one of the smallest groups among recent newcomers to America. In this little book, their migrations "from Mount Ararat to Massachusetts" are carefully described, with special attention to the old-world background and with emphasis upon the economic and social development of Armenians in the United States, including their church, press, national organizations, customs and manners, and several pages of recipes for Armenian foods. The two studies on the Poles are less important. They are devoted to discovering and commenting on the few scattered Poles who were in the United States in early decades, before Polish immigration became important. CARL WITTKE.

Norwegian Settlement in the United States. By CARLTON C. QUALEY. (Northfield, Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1938, pp. xi, 285, $3.00.) This book is chiefly a survey of the part taken in the great westward trek of population in our country by the Norwegian element, both immigrants and American born migrants. It deals mainly with the settlement of the Northwest, which became the home of the bulk of the Norwegian population. The movement of the settlers from older colonies to new frontiers is graphically pictured, the areas occupied by Norwegian pioneers are described with great care, the factors causing the ebb and flow of the movement are sketched, and some attention is paid to changes in the character of the pioneering as the settlers advanced from the woodlands to the prairies and from subsistence to commercial farming. Three chapters are devoted to the settlements in other regions, one to the beginnings of Norwegian immigration in 1825, one to the settlements in Michigan, and one to the chief "islands" or smaller groups, geographically isolated from the main Norwegian colonies. Unfortunately the book shows a lack of balance and absence of synthesis. The writer has not delimited his subject consistently. At times, also, off-hand general statements have crept in, and often the text suffers from repetition, vagueness, or inacurracy, which might have been avoided, sometimes by slight changes in language or organization. Mr. Qualey has, nevertheless, done a worthwhile piece of work. His research has been extensive and intensive, and he has gathered much useful information into a usable volume. The excellent maps, the statistical tables from the manuscript population schedules of the United States census reports, as well as the comprehensive bibliography and index, add to the value of the book. KAREN LARSEN.

Middlemen in the Domestic Trade of the United States, 1800-1860. By FRED MITCHELL JONES. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1937, pp. 81, $1.00.) This is a well documented description of merchandising organization in the United States from the opening of the last century until the Civil War. Free competition prevailed throughout the period, but other conditions, such as transportation, market areas, consumer demand, and the exchange mechanism expressed in barter, currency, and credit, were in constant transformation. The author gives a short historical and descriptive account of the important agencies of distribution at that time—wholesale merchants, factors or commission merchants, manufacturers' agents and auctions in the wholesale trade, general stores, incipient specialty, department, and chain stores, public markets and peddlers in the retail trade—and incidentally lists government efforts to regulate and tax such of these as encountered cool public favor. The study is a good résumé of facts and will be of service to the general as well as the economic historian. It suggests that the author's interest might eventually be engaged by a more comprehensive work, based on documentary as well as printed records, tracing evolutionary aspects in fuller detail, relating merchandising with new production methods as they appeared, and venturing into marginal zones and recesses of the subject, such for example as the emergence of general trading from the fur trade and the development of the employer store in free labor regions. VICTOR S. CLARK.

A Checklist of United States Newspapers (and Weeklies before 1900) in the General Library. Compiled by MARY WESCOTT and ALLENE RAMAGE. Parts V and VI, *North Dakota-Wyoming.* [Bibliographical Contributions of the Duke University Libraries.] (Durham, Duke University, 1937, pp. 710-1145, $1.00 each.)

American Newspapers, 1821-1936: A Union List of Files available in the United

States and Canada. Edited by WINIFRED GREGORY, under the auspices of the Bibliographical Society of America. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1937, pp. xvi, 791.) With Parts V and VI, which include 945 newspapers published in 247 towns in the 17 states which fall alphabetically between North Dakota and Wyoming, the record of the notable collection of United States newspapers in the Duke University Libraries has been completed. Since the beginning of this checklist (Part I, 1932) the appearance of an extensive union list of newspapers (*American Newspapers, 1821-1936*), locating files in 3663 repositories in the United States, its possessions, and Canada, has considerably decreased the importance of checklists of collections in single libraries except as they supplement the union list. For the states covered by Parts V and VI of the Duke list, *American Newspapers* includes issues of 12,733 papers published in 3706 towns. In certain particulars (*e.g.*, historical statements concerning papers listed and the recording of broken sets of papers) the Duke list is fuller than the union list. For these details and for the student who wants only the record of Duke holdings its list will prove useful, but for locating copies of American newspapers, wherever they may be, the union list will be of much greater value because of the number of papers and the number of collections included. DORIS M. REED.

Forty Years of American Life, 1821-1861. By THOMAS LOW NICHOLS. (New York, Stackpole, 1937, pp. 421, $3.00.) This edition of a work originally published in England in 1864 should be of interest to all students of social history. The author was a somewhat sensational American journalist, who, in the course of a varied career, carried on his activities in his native New England, New York, the Mississippi Valley, and the Gulf states. During the 1840's and 1850's he entered ardently into a number of reforms designed to raise the standard of health and increase the sum total of human happiness. Despising war as a complete destroyer of his ideal of "individual sovereignty", he refused to have any part in the conflict between the North and South. "Be my brother or I will kill you", he said, was a doctrine which he could not accept. He therefore left America for England when hostilities began and continued his reforming zeal there. With keen journalistic instinct he promptly capitalized the current English interest in America by publishing in two volumes his entertaining *Forty Years of American Life*. In this work, revised in 1874 and now republished, he gives an always lively account of his native land, commenting, often dramatically, upon outstanding persons, places, and events. Although there is not a great deal of autobiographical material in the book, the personality of the author makes itself felt in the vigorous phrasing and the vivid narrative style.

BERTHA MONICA STEARNS.

Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean, 1842-1844, in the Frigate "United States", with Notes on Herman Melville. Edited by CHARLES ROBERTS ANDERSON. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1937, pp. vi, 143, $2.50.) The journal which gives the title to this volume is a brief, discreet account by an anonymous petty officer, which is at times more redolent of guidebooks than of the sea. Though the writer was on the Pacific station during the two years which inaugurated the partition of Oceania and was often at Valparaiso, center of news and gossip for the guardian fleets of that ocean, no patriotic alarm over the future of California or Hawaii, no indignation over the theft of Tahiti enlivens his record. Nor does he comment upon those aspects of contemporary navy life which were so clearly in need of reformation. The reader, consequently, is likely to find the appendixes and notes more interesting. Among them are extracts from a franker journal

kept by a gunner of another vessel of the squadron, from whose brush come also the eleven illustrations in the book. The brief eyewitness accounts by both writers of Commodore Jones's premature occupation of Monterey, in October, 1842, are supplemented by the official correspondence of Jones with the Mexican authorities and with the Secretary of the Navy in Washington. Considerable space is given to a circumstance not noted in the journals: the presence of Herman Melville as an ordinary seaman on board the *United States* during the last fourteen months of the cruise. This experience provided the basis for Melville's *White-Jacket; or Around the World in a Man-of-War*. The editor makes numerous comparisons between the facts of the voyage as detailed in an unimaginative journal and as altered by literary license in what Melville asserted, and his biographers have believed, was "an impartial account . . . inventing nothing".

JEAN INGRAM BROOKES.

American Catholics in the War with Mexico. By Sister BLANCHE MARIE MCENIRY. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1937, pp. xi, 178, $2.00.) In time of war organized Christianity has always been faced with the problem of determining which things are Caesar's and which things are God's. Seldom have churchmen faced a more delicate choice than did the American Catholics in 1846, when, after a decade of persecution by the Native Americans, they were asked to support a war against fellow Catholics. In this dissertation the author sets herself the task of ascertaining "the contribution and participation of American Catholics" (p. ix) in the Mexican conflict. She estimates the extent of her church's participation in terms of the attitude of the Catholic press, the activities of Bishop John Hughes, and the labors of two chaplains, Fathers John McElroy and Anthony Rey, and of "representative" Catholics who served in the army and navy. A thorough survey of the Catholic press is the most original part of the book. The author found that whenever the press did voice an opinion, it was outspokenly prowar. The rest of the book is an amplification of the writings of earlier Catholics, in particular those of Thomas F. Meehan. That the Catholics zealously supported the war, all of the writers are agreed. Why this should have been true, they have left largely unanswered. CLAYTON S. ELLSWORTH.

The Legislation of the Civil-War Period considered as a Basis of the Agricultural Revolution in the United States. By ARNOLD TILDEN. [The University of Southern California, School of Research Studies.] (Los Angeles, the University Press, 1937, pp. 160.) In this book Dr. Tilden undertakes to prove that the Homestead Act and the various Pacific Railroad acts, as well as numerous supplements to them, were at the bottom of the distress which overtook American agriculture during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Following some improvement and even prosperity between 1900 and 1921, agricultural decay was resumed in the 20's and is still with us. Even these latter-day difficulties are attributed to the same sources as those of a half-century ago, *viz.*, the legislation of the Civil War period. The author maintains that the subsidies in the form of free land granted to settlers and railroads in the trans-Mississippi territory caused the production of more agricultural commodities than the markets of America and even of the world could absorb at profitable prices. The first people to be affected disastrously were the farmers of the older communities whose capital investments were relatively large. But ere long, as capital costs increased in the newer west while prices continued to decline, the very farmers (or their heirs and successors) who had been the beneficiaries of government bounty found themselves in the same unhappy situation as their eastern brothers. In

the Granger and Greenback movements of the 70's and the Populist and Free Silver movements of the 90's the agrarians were attacking relatively superficial evils and overlooking the fundamental difficulty—overproduction stimulated by unwise government action. Despite some oversimplification of a complex problem and a tendency to be a bit dogmatic, Dr. Tilden defends his thesis with cogent logic and an array of authentic statistical data. The book deserves careful reading by all students of agricultural history and economics. B. B. KENDRICK.

An Annotated Bibliography of Robert M. La Follette: The Man and His Work. By ERNEST W. STIRN. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937, pp. xi, 571, $5.00.) This is a manual for the use of some future biographer of the elder La Follette. It consists largely of references drawn from the indexes of the *Congressional Record* and the *New York Times.* These are arranged chronologically, are rarely complete enough to permit the user to be certain that he may refrain from using the indexes, and are accompanied by few notes of evaluation by the editor. Wherever they refer to votes in Congress, the vote cast by Senator La Follette is given. F. L. PAXSON.

ARTICLES

KAJ BIRKET-SMITH. Amerikas Erobring [review article on Georg Friederici's three-volume work]. *Tilskueren,* July.

HAYWOOD J. PEARCE, JR. New Light on the Roanoke Colony: A Preliminary Examination of a Stone found in Chowan County, North Carolina. *Jour. Southern Hist.,* May.

WILLIAM P. CUMMING. The Identity of John White Governor of Roanoke and John White the Artist. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.,* July.

HENRY J. CARMAN and REXFORD G. TUGWELL. The Significance of American Agricultural History. *Agricultural Hist.,* Apr.

RODNEY H. TRUE. Some Pre-Revolutionary Agricultural Correspondence. *Ibid.*

MARGUERITE B. HAMER. The Fate of the Exiled Acadians in South Carolina. *Jour. Southern Hist.,* May.

HORACE M. LIPPINCOTT. Peters and Stoddert, First Secretaries of the Army and Navy. *General Mag. and Hist. Chron.,* July.

LANCASTER POLLARD. Washington Literature: A Historical Sketch. *Pacific Northwest Quar.,* July.

EDWARD DUMBAULD. Thomas Jefferson and Pennsylvania. *Pennsylvania Hist.,* July.

DONALD H. YOST. "The Mysterious Mr. Smith" [James Smith, Signer of the Declaration of Independence]. *Papers Hist. Soc. York County,* new ser., no. 1.

HENRY PLEASANTS, JR. The Battle of the Clouds: A Forgotten Incident of the American Revolution [Battle of Goshen, Sept. 16, 1777]. *General Mag. and Hist. Chron.,* July.

FRANK D. PAVEY. The Battle of Chesapeake Bay [1781]. *Franco-Am. Rev.,* Spring.

OLIVER HUCKEL. Benjamin Franklin and George Whitefield—Founding Fathers. *General Mag. and Hist. Chron.,* July.

RICHARD J. PURCELL. Thomas Fitzsimons, Framer of the American Constitution. *Studies,* June.

THEODORE C. PEASE. The Ordinance of 1787. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.,* Sept.

MAX FARRAND. If James Madison had had a Sense of Humor. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.,* Apr.

AVERY CRAVEN. John Taylor and Southern Agriculture. *Jour. Southern Hist.,* May.

NELSON H. BURR. The Early History of the Swedes and the Episcopal Church in America. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church,* June.

E. P. RICHARDSON. A Portrait of John Trumbull, the Poet. *Art Quar.,* Summer.

RICHARD R. STENBERG. The Jefferson Birthday Dinner, 1830. *Jour. Southern Hist.,* Aug.

WILLIAM O. LYNCH. Zachary Taylor as President. *Ibid.*

J. CARLYLE SITTERSON. Magnolia Plantation, 1852-62: A Decade of a Louisiana Sugar Estate. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.,* Sept.

JOHN B. RAE. Commissioner Sparks and the Railroad Land Grants. *Ibid.*

CHARLES H. COLEMAN. The Use of the Term Copperhead during the Civil War. *Ibid.*

LOUIS H. BOLANDER. The *Alligator*, First Federal Submarine of the Civil War. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, June.

MRS. JACOB A. CLUTZ. The Battle of Gettysburg. *Pennsylvania Hist.*, July.

FLETCHER PRATT. The Rebel Rams. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, July.

HARRY E. PRATT. Lincoln's Savings from his Salary as President of the United States. *Bull. Abraham Lincoln Assoc.*, June.

ROY P. BASLER. Abraham Lincoln—Artist. *North Am. Rev.*, Spring.

HARRIET L. HERRING. The Clement Attachment: An Episode of Reconstruction Industrial History. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, May.

P. L. RAINWATER, ed. Notes on Southern Personalities. *Ibid.*

INGRID GAUSTAD. Utvandringen til Amerika 1866-73 [summary in English]. *Hist. Tidsskr.* (Nor.), 1938, no. 2.

EARLE D. ROSS. The "Father" of the Land-Grant College. *Agricultural Hist.*, Apr.

OSBORNE E. HOOLEY. Hawaiian Negotiation for Reciprocity, 1855-1857. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, June.

JOHN PATTERSON. The United States and Hawaiian Reciprocity, 1867-1870. *Ibid.*, Mar.

DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE. The Record of the American Press. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, July.

HARRY B. WEISS. Some Comic Histories of the United States. *Bull. New York Public Library*, Apr.

MERLE CURTI. Reformers consider the Constitution. *Am. Jour. Sociology*, May.

DOCUMENTS

J. G. DEROULHAC HAMILTON, ed. King's Mountain: Letters of Colonel Isaac Shelby. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Aug.

CLARENCE E. CARTER. William Henry Harrison and the Mexican Appointment, 1823-24. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Sept.

NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Ministerial Training in Eighteenth-Century New England. By MARY LATIMER GAMBRELL. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. 169, $2.50.) That the colonial New Englanders expected their ministers to be well educated and learned in Scripture and doctrine has long been known, but to what extent their ideal was reached in actual practice has been less certain. To determine as far as possible the character, quality, and methods of ministerial training in New England is the purpose of this study. In general, the author finds, the colonials upheld the standards of seventeenth century England and especially of the Church of Scotland, but without imitation and with some differences. As might have been expected, educational achievement fell short of educational ideal, but this was not peculiar to New England. Dr. Gambrell considers the undergraduate training of New England ministers in the eighteenth century better than that of English Dissenters of the same period and somewhat less good than that of the Scotch Presbyterians, especially in "polite learning". Graduate training in America seems to have been less systematic and more dependent upon the interests of the individual student than in Scotland, yet in both, "catechetical divinity and the current controversies constituted the heart of theological study". This was especially true in New England after the Great Awakening, when there was greater emphasis on doctrinal purity, especially at Yale, and on the training necessary to combat effectively the many new "isms" of the day. Especially interesting are the chapters dealing with the so-called "Schools of the Prophets", where groups of young graduates studied theology and shared the family life in the homes of such eminent divines as

Joseph Bellamy and Nathanael Emmons. To those interested in the sources of American theological doctrine and in early educational methods this book will be of much value. It is well documented and has a good bibliography and index.
ALICE M. BALDWIN.

Not So Long Ago: A Chronicle of Medicine and Doctors in Colonial Philadelphia. By CECIL K. DRINKER. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xii, 183. $3.50.) Family, political, and especially medical life in Quaker Philadelphia during the last half of the eighteenth century is abundantly revealed by the diary of Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker, kept almost continuously from 1758 to 1807. Her great-great-grandson, professor of physiology in the School of Public Health, Harvard University, has carefully edited the diary and provided a running account of the events mentioned in it. Principally dealing with the struggles to keep well in an age rife with smallpox, yellow fever, and tuberculosis, in addition to minor diseases due to the absence of street sanitation, water closets, or sewage disposal as we know them today, the life of a well-to-do Quaker family is clearly depicted by a remarkable woman. She insisted, for instance, on direct inoculation of smallpox matter in her children, and when vaccination with cowpox first appeared, in 1800, she had her grandchildren so treated. She employed the outstanding physicians of her time, John Redman, Benjamin Rush, Adam Kuhn, William Shippen, jr., and Philip Synge Physick. The text of the diary, reproduced exactly as it was written, has been adequately expanded in notes by Professor Drinker, who has made a scholarly addition to colonial and post-Revolutionary history.
HENRY R. VIETS.

Azilum: The Story of a French Royalist Colony of 1793. By ELSIE MURRAY. (Athens, Tioga Point Museum, 1937, pp. 40, 50 cents.) The story of the Azilum colony, founded by French Revolutionary exiles in the Pennsylvania woods, is an extraordinary one. Gentlemen who had known Versailles and the Tuileries, ex-army officers and St. Domingue planters are transformed into colonists on the banks of the Susquehanna, while one nonjuring priest appears as an innkeeper and another keeps a store. Marie Antoinette, for whom a log house is built, fails to arrive, but Louis Philippe does so, as do La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, and Talleyrand. Miss Murray, herself a descendant of the Azilum refugees and in close touch with all the sources, is well equipped to tell the tale. Her pamphlet is therefore, in wealth of detail, in pictures and maps, distinctly above the average; it is not and makes no claim to be a scientific historical essay. Miss Murray notes, however, that she is revising "The Story of Some French Refugees and their Azilum", written by her mother, the late Mrs. Louise Welles Murray. It is to be hoped that this revision will satisfy the scholar in search of documentation and bibliography and provide an authoritative work on a unique and fascinating story which proves, if ever proof is needed, that truth is stranger than fiction.
FRANCES S. CHILDS.

The Life of Edwards Amasa Park (S.T.D., LL.D.), Abbot Professor, Andover Theological Seminary. By FRANK HUGH FOSTER. Foreword by Walter Marshall Horton. (New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1936, pp. 275, $2.75.) Edwards Amasa Park lived through almost all but the first eight years of the nineteenth century. For forty-five years he was a professor in Andover Theological Seminary and for nearly forty an editor of *Bibliotheca Sacra,* a theological quarterly which long voiced Andover opinion. He was generally regarded as one of the greatest teachers, preachers, and controversialists of his generation. He devoted himself almost exclusively, however, to expounding and defending the New England

theology as developed by Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins. His mental outlook never changed, and in his old age he labored, with what strength remained, "to rescue the shattered Calvinistic system by dint of hard study and closer definition of terms". Since he was not himself creative, and only academic interest in what to him was vital now survives, he has been almost forgotten. Dr. Foster's biography is the affectionate tribute of a pupil and friend, written in the author's declining years and published after his death by former associates. It is a faithful, but sometimes tedious, compilation of facts and illustrative quotations, many of them from manuscript sources. As the portrait of a type that no longer exists and as an account of the activities and influence of one who in his day held a high place in his special field, the book has value. To knowledge of the background against which his life was lived and of the events with which he was connected it adds little. HARRIS E. STARR.

Vermont's Anti-Slavery and Underground Railroad Record. By WILBUR H. SIEBERT. (Columbus, Spahr and Glenn, 1937, pp. 113, $2.75.) The last part of this book is a study of the underground railroad in Vermont, as careful and complete as the author's other studies in this field. Based largely on personal reminiscences secured nearly fifty years ago from surviving participants and their children, the material has been checked on the whole with scholarly care. The discrepancy which the author notes (p. 102) between the multitude of fugitives passing through Vermont and the handful of Negroes recorded in the contemporary Canadian census is adequately explained by Fred Landon in his monographs on Negroes in Canada. The remainder of the book, in six brief essays, chronicles antislavery items in the Vermont courts and legislature and catalogues antislavery societies, parties, and newspapers. The essays overlap excessively, but their chief defect is that they read like a series of notes assembled chronologically and lack connected significance. This is unfortunate because Vermont's antislavery record has peculiar significance. After the "mob year" of 1835 the organized antislavery movement came nearer to dominance in Vermont than anywhere else in the North. One error needs correction. In the story of the congressional gags on page 50, Slade and Patton were not senators but members of the House of Representatives, and the Pinckney gag was passed not at the previous session, but two sessions before. GILBERT HOBBS BARNES.

ARTICLES

EDWARD BILLINGS HAM. Journalism and the French Survival in New England. *New Eng. Quar.*, Mar.

LEROY L. THWING. Lighting in Early Colonial Massachusetts. *Ibid.*

RONALD OLIVER MACFARLANE. The Massachusetts Bay Truck-Houses in Diplomacy with the Indians. *Ibid.*

HENRY J. CADBURY. Quakers and their Abettors, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, 1663. *Bull. Friends' Hist. Assoc.*, Spring.

CLARENCE HOTSON. The Christian Critics and Mr. Emerson. *New Eng. Quar.*, Mar.

MANNING HAWTHORNE. Nathaniel Hawthorne prepares for College. *Ibid.*

FRANCIS L. UTLEY. Thoreau and Columella: A Study in Reading Habits. *Ibid*

JANE REMSEN. Russell Sage: Yankee. *Ibid.*

RICHARD B. MORRIS. The Ghost of Captain Kidd. *New York Hist.*, July.

HOWARD D. WILLIAMS. The Origin of Colgate University. *Ibid.*

EDWARD C. STARR. The Samuel Colgate Baptist Historical Collection. *Ibid.*

JULIAN PARK. The Evolution of a College: A Century of Higher Education in Buffalo. *Univ. Buffalo Studies*, May.

MILTON RUBINCAM. Biographical Sketch of His Majesty's Councillor the Honorable John Wills [1660-1747]. *Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc.*, July.

NELSON R. BURR. The Religious History of New Jersey before 1702, I. *Ibid.*

PHILIP M. MARSH. Was Freneau a Fighter? *Ibid.*

JOHN L. WHITEHEAD. The Survey of Federal Archives in Philadelphia. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Apr.

RAYMOND P. STEARNS. A Description of the Russell Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. *Ibid.*

WILFRID PARSONS. Early Catholic Publishers in Philadelphia. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, July.

RICHARD A. LESTER. Currency Issues to overcome Depressions in Pennsylvania, 1723 and 1729. *Jour. Pol. Economy*, June.

JOSEPH J. MCCADDEN. Walter Rogers Johnson: A New England Founder of Free Schools in Pennsylvania. *New Eng. Quar.*, Mar.

EDWARD D. SNYDER. Whittier returns to Philadelphia after a Hundred Years. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Apr.

RICHARD I. SHELLING. Philadelphia and the Agitation in 1825 for the Pennsylvania Canal. *Ibid.*

GLEN LEROY BUSHEY. William Duane, Crusader for Judicial Reform. *Pennsylvania Hist.*, July.

RICHARD T. WILEY. Lafayette in Western Pennsylvania [1825]. *Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag.*, June.

WALTER J. MCCLINTOCK. Title Difficulties of the Holland Land Company in Northwestern Pennsylvania. *Ibid.*

FLETCHER HODGES, JR. A Pittsburgh Composer [Stephen Foster] and his Memorial. *Ibid.*

DOCUMENTS

JAMES W. SNYDER, JR., ed. Papers relating to the Building of the Ship *Massachusetts*, at Braintree, 1787. *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, July.

HOWARD CORNING. The Autobiography of a Salem Merchant [David Augustus Neal, 1793 -]. *Bull. Business Hist. Soc.*, June.

EMMA L. TIBBETTS, ed. Journal of Captain John C. Tibbetts of the Brig *Gulnare*. *New Eng. Quar.*, Mar.

ELIZABETH FORGEUS, ed. An Unpublished Letter of Zephaniah Swift. *Ibid.*

JOHN ELIOT ALDEN, ed. Henry Adams as Editor: A Group of Unpublished Letters written to David A. Wells. *Ibid.*

DONALD L. KEMMERER, ed. New Material on the Stamp Act in New Jersey. *Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc.*, July.

PHILIP S. KLEIN, ed. Memoirs of a Senator from Pennsylvania: Jonathan Roberts, 1771-1854, VI. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Apr.

FRANKLIN F. HOLBROOK. Our Historical Society: Charter of the Society; By-Laws; List of Officers, 1834-1938; Roll of Members. *Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag.*, Mar.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary, 1843-1844. Edited with an Introduction by LESTER B. SHIPPEE. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1937, pp. xxvii, 208, $3.50.) Henry Benjamin Whipple, Episcopal bishop of Minnesota in the latter half of the nineteenth century, toured the South at the age of twenty-one and recorded in his diary vivid impressions of cities and towns, planters and plantations, customs and institutions. Although born and reared in upstate New York, his penetrating observations are unusually free of sectional bias. The first slave he beheld gave him "the strangest sensations", but he soon discovered that Southern Negroes were happy, contented, and well fed, albeit laziness reduced the effectiveness of their labor. Whipple concluded that slavery was more injurious to the owner than to the slave. His reflections led some of his New York friends to fear that he had become proslavery. Arguing that the slave was unprepared for freedom, he asserted that if to oppose "immediate emancipation . . . is to be a proslavery man *I am one*" (p. 97). There are illuminating discussions

of slave auctions, masquerades, Georgia "crackers", idiomatic expressions, and Southern hospitality. Whipple's visits to Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, St. Louis, and a dozen other places yielded accurate accounts of their social and commercial activities. He was particularly impressed by the cosmopolitan atmosphere of New Orleans; his comments upon the French Quarter, the market, the amusements, and the "immorals" of the city are quite profound for such a youthful traveler. The historical value of the diary is enhanced by identification of the individuals he met and the plantations he visited. Professor Shippee contributes a biographical introduction which emphasizes Whipple's career as bishop of Minnesota and his work among the Indians. The editing has been carefully done, although an occasional inaccuracy appears in explanatory footnotes. The format of the volume is most attractive. WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON.

'Ware Sherman: A Journal of Three Months' Personal Experience in the Last Days of the Confederacy. By JOSEPH LECONTE. With an Introductory Reminiscence by his daughter, CAROLINE LECONTE. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1937, pp. xxxi, 146, $1.50.) This extremely interesting little book which, through the eyes of an educated and skilled observer, gives a graphic picture of some of the things that were going on behind the lines during the last six months of the Confederacy, is source material for the social historian of the period. Written in scraps as a journal and soon afterwards transcribed, it is a record of the experiences of a consulting chemist in the Confederate States Nitre and Mining Bureau (formerly a professor of chemistry and geology at South Carolina College and afterwards a prominent geologist and professor at the University of California) in trying to remove part of his family and, later, Nitre and Mining Bureau stores and personal possessions from the path of Sherman's army. The reproductions of pen-and-ink sketches made by the author on the original draft of the journal, which appear as illustrations, are valuable as well as interesting. The editing includes an index of, and many footnotes identifying, persons mentioned. The trifling errors and omissions are such as would be significant only to the military critic. A general sketch map showing the territory covered and places mentioned would have been a valuable addition. T. H. SMITH.

ARTICLES

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS. The Historic Civilization of the South. *Agricultural Hist.*, Apr.

DONALD B. SANGER. A Brief Survey of the Growth of Nullification and its Relation to Secession [cont.]. *Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, July.

Jefferson Davis, Leader of a Lost Cause, Refuted. *Ibid.*

WILLIAM B. MARYE. The Annacostin Indian Fort. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, June.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR. The White Servants at "Northampton", 1772-1774. *Ibid.*

ANNA HOWELL KENNEDY FINDLAY. Where "The Captain" was Found [Captain Oliver Wendell Holmes, jr.]. *Ibid.*

S. H. LEE WASHINGTON. New Light on George Washington's Ancestors: The Washingtons of Sulgrave and Brington. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.

ANNE FLOYD UPSHUR and RALPH T. WHITELAW. Two of the Oldest Brick Dwellings in America [Winona and Hungar's Glebe, Northampton County]. *Ibid.*

GEORGE CARRINGTON MASON. The Colonial Churches of Lynnhaven Parish, Princess Anne County, Virginia. *William and Mary Coll. Quar. Hist. Mag.*, July.

H. J. ECKENRODE. Negroes in Richmond in 1864. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.

ALLEN MOGER. The Rift in Virginia Democracy in 1896. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Aug.

LAWRENCE F. LONDON. George Edmund Badger, Member of the Harrison-Tyler Cabinet, 1841. *South Atlantic Quar.*, July.

Id. George Edmund Badger: His Last Years in the United States Senate, 1851-1855. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, July.

Cortez A. M. Ewing. Two Reconstruction Impeachments. *Ibid.*

G. Blake Palmer. Blake of South Carolina: A Note on the English Ancestry of Governor Blake. *South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, July.

Lillian A. Kibler. Unionist Sentiment in South Carolina in 1860. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Aug.

Mark F. Boyd. A Map of the Road from Pensacola to St. Augustine, 1778 (with nine plates). *Florida Hist. Quar.*, July.

Alice Whitman. Transportation in Territorial Florida. *Ibid.*

Ruth B. Barr and Modeste Hargis. The Voluntary Exile of Free Negroes of Pensacola. *Ibid.*

Gardiner C. Tucker. Richard Hooker Wilmer, Second Bishop of Alabama. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, June.

William A. Mabry. Disfranchisement of the Negro in Mississippi. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Aug.

Kathryn Garrett. *Gaceta de Texas:* Translation of the First Number. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, July.

Documents

Harrison Tilghman, ed. Letters between the English and American Branches of the Tilghman Family, 1697-1764. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, June.

W. R. Lidderdale Forrest, contr. The Washington Family and the Stuchbury Estate, Northamptonshire. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.

William C. Hall, ed. Sergeant Champe's Adventure [American Revolution]. *William and Mary Coll. Quar. Hist. Mag.*, July.

Letters from Old Trunks [John Preston, 1810, 1811; William Byrd, 1728, 1729; John Custis to Philip Ludwell II., 1717]. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.

Mrs. William Montgomery Sweeney, contr. Orderly Book, Virginia Militia, War of 1812 [cont.]. *Ibid.*

William M. Sweeney, contr. Gleanings from the Records of (Old) Rappahannock County and Essex County, Virginia. *William and Mary Coll. Quar. Hist. Mag.*, July.

F. W. Cross, contr. The Peninsula Campaign: Letters to the Surgeon General of Massachusetts. *Ibid.*

Myron H. Avery and Kenneth S. Boardman, eds. Arnold Guyot's Notes on the Geography of the Mountain District of Western North Carolina. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, July.

Richard X. Evans, contr. Letters of Robert Mills [1804-1825]. *South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, July.

Thomas P. Govan. Banking and the Credit System in Georgia, 1810-1860. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, May.

Panton, Leslie Papers: Letters of Edmund Doyle to John Innerarity, 1814. *Florida Hist. Quar.*, July.

James A. Padgett, ed. Letters of Hubbard Taylor to President James Madison [cont.]. *Reg. Kentucky State Hist. Soc.*, July.

Bayless Hardin, ed. Papers of Colonel William Whitley, Kentucky Pioneer, from the Draper Manuscripts. *Ibid.*

Lucien Beckner, ed. John D. Shane's Interview with Jeptha Kemper. *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, July.

Otto H. Rothert, ed. Two Letters by Cassius M. Clay [1862, 1869]. *Ibid.*

Western Territories and States

The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794: An Annotated Bibliography. By Henry R. Wagner. [Quivira Society.] Two Parts. (Albuquerque, the Society, 1937, pp. 270; 271-553, $15.00.) In 1917 a small monograph entitled *Bibliography of Printed Works in Spanish relating to those Portions of the United States which Formerly belonged to Mexico* was published in Santiago, Chile, by Mr. Wagner. Seven years later, revised and enlarged to 302 pages but limited to only 100 copies, it became the first edition of *The Spanish Southwest.* This present edi-

tion, of 401 copies, represents further revision, the inclusion of many new titles, and copious annotation. In addition to adequate and detailed bibliographic information, copies of the titles mentioned are located insofar as practicable. Brief biographical sketches of the authors together with extensive reference to original manuscripts, published documentary collections, and periodical literature immensely enrich the work. Facsimile titlepages of most of the important titles have been included. An index, bibliography, and reference map facilitate consultation. Entries follow the chronological plan with some variation. The author brings to his work the appreciation of a true bibliophile and the stimulus of energetic scholarship. In several places he has summarized the results of specialized historical research on certain topics. Attention is focused primarily upon the portions of the present United States which were once part of New Spain, but adequate coverage of this somewhat restricted field necessitated excursions into Spanish and Hispanic American history. Students of the colonial Southwest will find this study invaluable. It is almost equally significant for those interested in colonial America. VERNON D. TATE.

Historic St. Joseph Island. By JOSEPH and ESTELLE BAYLISS. (Cedar Rapids, Torch Press, 1938, pp. vi, 237, $2.00.) If any excuse were needed for this book, it would be found in the fact that, as Dr. M. M. Quaife points out in his introduction, St. Joseph Island has been conspicuously neglected, notwithstanding its long and interesting history. And even if this were not so, Mr. and Mrs. Bayliss have produced something that is quite good enough to stand upon its own feet. Newcomers, as it would appear, in the overcrowded field of writers, they command in their narrative style the happy mean between those who are ponderously accurate and those others who must dramatize every situation. From a wealth of material, gathered from many scattered sources, they have built a story that is objective without ceasing to be human, dramatic because its history is dramatic, and marked by the tragedy and humor of pioneer life on this continent. St. Joseph Island lies at the point where St. Mary's River enters Lake Huron. It was therefore on the main thoroughfare of travel east and west from the days of Étienne Brûlé, Jean Nicolet, and Père Marquette down through the periods of exploration, the fur trade, and early settlement. Here a fierce battle was fought about the middle of the seventeenth century between the Iroquois and the Huron, and on this same island Fort St. Joseph was built in 1796, from which in 1812 the expedition set forth that captured Fort Mackinac. Oddly enough, while it appears that in the early days of Fort St. Joseph fish were conspicuously lacking in the neighborhood of the island, the garrison at one time being reduced to a few pounds of rancid pork, forty-three years later the small settlement that had been established there was not only supplying all its own wants but shipping six hundred barrels of trout and herring to Detroit and Chicago between spring and July. Altogether this book is a very real addition to the historical literature of the Great Lakes region. LAWRENCE J. BURPEE.

Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians. By GEORGE E. HYDE. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1937, pp. xi, 331, $3.50.) This is the first attempt to present a complete history of one of the Sioux tribes. It includes also the story of other Sioux tribes and related episodes in the experiences of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. It begins with the migration of the Oglalas and their Teton kindred from Minnesota across the coteau to the Missouri, and it traces their development from "little camps of poor people afoot in the vast buffalo plains" to a populous nation, rich with stolen horses, happy with dances and successful forays, and rejoicing in a careless abundance of dried meat and warm

robes. In their relations with the white man there was the excitement of plundering helpless emigrant trains, defeating incredibly stupid military expeditions, and bullying even more stupid civilian administrators; but the ruthless advance of civilization continued, the coming of more emigrant trains, the building of roads and railroads, the establishment of forts, the destruction of the buffalo, the seizure of the Black Hills, and the final settlement of a crushed and hopeless people upon a reservation. The book is written in a racy style, with vivid characterization. The author's long familiarity with the background has enabled him to untangle the threads of vague, half-forgotten tribal traditions, misleading accounts by unseeing travelers, and solemn falsehoods of official reports, and weave them all into a connected narrative. But the book is not documented, and the critical student will not be satisfied with an interpretation that rests solely upon the word of one brilliant and witty commentator. In spite of its charm, it leaves one with the uneasy feeling that the real history of the Oglala Sioux has not yet been told. ANGIE DEBO.

Overland to California in 1847: Letters written en route to California, west from Independence, Missouri, to the Editor of the Joliet Signal. By CHESTER INGERSOLL. Edited, with an Introductory Note, by DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE. (Chicago, Black Cat Press, 1937, pp. 50, $3.50.) This series of nine letters in diary form was printed in the *Joliet Signal* between May 18, 1847, and August 29 of the same year. Coming as they do before the onset of the gold rush, written by a man of intelligent observation and excellent balance, and outlining the main features of the established route, they are a useful addition to the bibliography of the California Trail. The letters are definite in information about prices, necessary supplies, the weather, distances, the character of the country, and traveling conditions. It may be noted that, contrary to popular belief, the chief danger from Indians, when they did appear, was from their rascally thieving rather than their bloodthirsty tendencies. Arriving in California, the writer reported the nature of the country, both north and south of San Francisco Bay, and the wealth of business opportunities for an ambitious pioneer. Although little attempt has been made by the editor to identify or locate geographical features outside of California, the lay reader would be reassured to know, for instance, that the "Fort Neff" river is really the Port Neuf. To the editor, who is interested chiefly in the history of early printing in the United States, we are indebted for a handsomely printed and valuable contemporary account of the road to California in 1847. DOROTHY P. HULBERT.

Southern Trails to California in 1849. Edited by RALPH P. BIEBER. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark, 1937, pp. 386, $6.00.) The *raison d'être* for this volume of the Southwest Historical Series was found by the editor in the fact that the story of the argonauts of '49 who traveled the lesser known southern trails still remained to be written. The present volume, therefore, contains "documentary material illustrating the various aspects of the gold rush through the Southwest in 1849" and "seeks to paint a picture of this movement by reproducing some relatively inaccessible diaries, letters, and other contemporary material of the overland trek through the Southwest". The introduction constitutes an excellent summary, which includes Mr. Bieber's article, "The Southwestern Trails to California in 1849" (*Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, Dec., 1925). It describes in some detail the entire movement. The documentary material is fresh, literate, and stimulating, containing as it does much otherwise unknown information, chiefly from newspapers of 1848 and 1849, contributed by editorial comment and actual traveling correspondents. It would be interesting to know approxi-

mately what percentage of the nine thousand forty-niners who traveled these Southwest trails chose at the base of the Rocky Mountains the Gila river routes and what percentage, the Salt Lake City routes, and of the latter, how many preferred instead of the hard, less direct trail to Los Angeles, the regular, direct route via the Humboldt. Thus might be determined more accurately the true argonauts of the Southwest trails, properly speaking. The editorial labor has been accomplished with sound learning and discrimination, the map and illustrations are adequate, and the format attractive. DOROTHY P. HULBERT.

A History of Congregationalism in Nebraska: A Study of Administrative Activities. By CHARLES JOHNSTON KENNEDY. (Chicago, The Mid-West Congregational Historical Society, 1937, pp. 113, $1.00.) This careful study of the impact of Congregationalism upon Nebraska is a welcome addition to the growing number of monographs dealing with various phases of the religious history of the mid-west. As the subtitle indicates, the author has limited himself to an account of the administrative activities, a limitation which to this reviewer seems unfortunate. As might be expected, there is very little human interest material in the book, and none of the leaders stand out as human beings. Congregationalism proved itself more or less of a failure as a frontier body, and the reason is clearly shown in this study. Congregationalism was planted in Nebraska by Eastern missionaries working under the direction of an Eastern agency. For a considerable time it struggled under the handicap of long distance control and developed a dependent attitude and a migratory ministry. On the other hand, such churches as the Baptist, Methodist, and Disciple largely grew out of the soil of the frontier and early developed an aggressive independence. The author is to be commended for his meticulous use of sources. The absence of an index is to be regretted.
WILLIAM W. SWEET.

ARTICLES

Publications of the Indiana Historical Bureau. *Indiana Hist. Bull.*, May.

HAMBLETON TAPP. Robert J. Breckinridge and the Year 1849. *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, July.

DANIEL S. ROBINSON. Indiana's Cultural Heritage. *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, June.

EDGAR F. KISER. "Hoosier Incunabula". *Ibid.*

FRANK S. POPPLEWELL. St. Joseph, Missouri, as a Center of the Cattle Trade. *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, July.

HATTIE M. ANDERSON. The Evolution of a Frontier Society in Missouri, 1815-1828, II. *Ibid.*

WILLIAM WALDO. Recollections of a Septuagenarian. Missouri Hist. Soc., *Glimpses of the Past*, Apr.

WILLIAM F. LAWLER. Michigan Islands. *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, Summer.

E. B. HILL. Farm Management. *Ibid.*

WILLIAM G. ROBINSON. Playground and Recreation Movement. *Ibid.*

MILDRED MOTT. The Relation of Historic Indian Tribes to Archaeological Manifestations in Iowa. *Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol.*, July.

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN. Religion and Morality [in Iowa one hundred years ago]. *Palimpsest*, June.

J. A. SWISHER. The Organic Act [Territory of Iowa, 1838]. *Ibid.*

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN. The Birthday of the Territory [Iowa]. *Ibid.*, July.

Id. The Governor's Tour [Iowa in 1838]. *Ibid.*, Aug.

Id. The Geography of Iowa Territory. *Ibid.*, July.

JACK T. JOHNSON. The Man who would be Governor [William B. Conway]. *Ibid.*

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN. Robert Lucas. *Ibid.*, Aug.

LUTHER F. BOWERS. *The Iowa Sun*. *Ibid.*

GRANT FOREMAN. Settlement of English Potters in Wisconsin. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, June.

Joseph Schafer. Ferries and Ferryboats. *Ibid.*

Charles W. Nichols. Henry Martyn Nichols and the Northampton Colony. *Minnesota Hist.*, June.

Everett E. Edwards. T. L. Hecker, the Father of Dairying in Minnesota. *Ibid.*

Cecil O. Monroe. The Rise of Baseball in Minnesota. *Ibid.*

Waldo R. Wedel. Some Problems and Prospects in Kansas Prehistory. *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, May.

James C. Malin. The Hoogland Examination: The United States *v.* John Brown, jr., *et al.* *Ibid.*

Raymond L. Welty. Supplying the Frontier Military Posts. *Ibid.*

A. T. Hill and Paul Cooper. The Archaeological Campaign of 1937. *Nebraska Hist. Mag.*, Oct., 1937.

R. L. Housman. The Frontier Journals of Western Montana. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, July.

Eugene B. Chaffee. The Political Clash between North and South Idaho over the Capital. *Ibid.*

W. J. Ghent. Sketch of John Colter. *Wyoming An.*, July.

J. Neilson Barry. John Colter's Map of 1814. *Ibid.*

P. M. Baldwin. A Short History of the Mesilla Valley. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, July.

Verne F. Ray and others. Tribal Distribution in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions. *Am. Anthropologist*, July.

J. Neilson Barry. Who discovered the Columbia River? *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, June.

J. H. Horner and Grace Butterfield. Enterprise: Its Background and Beginnings. *Ibid.*

H. E. Tobie. Joseph L. Meek, a Conspicuous Personality. I, 1829-1834. *Ibid.*

Clifford M. Drury. Oregon Indians in the Red River School. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Mar.

Id. The Columbia Maternal Association. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, June.

Documents

Old Indian Deed [May 22, 1795; with facsimile]. *Hist. Soc. Northwestern Ohio, Quar. Bull.*, July.

Florence Goold Watts, ed. Some Vincennes Documents of 1772. *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, June.

Virginia Pierce Hicks, contr. Sketches of Early Days in Kearny County. *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, Feb.

Myra E. Hull, ed. Soldiering on the High Plains: The Diary of Lewis Byram Hull, 1864-1866. *Ibid.*

Paul H. Giddens, contr. News from Kansas in 1870. *Ibid.*, May.

Horace Adams, ed. Arkansas Traveler, 1852-1853: Diary of John W. Brown. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Aug.

John A. Campbell. Diary, 1868-1875 [cont.]. *Wyoming An.*, July.

George P. Hammond, tr. Oñate's Appointment as Governor of New Mexico. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, July.

Albert J. Partoll, ed. The Flathead Indian Treaty Council of 1855. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, July.

Clifford M. Drury, ed. Gray's Journal of 1838. *Ibid.*

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW INDEX

The American Historical Review General Index, Volumes XXXI-XL, is now in press. The price will be $1.75. Copies may be secured from the Macmillan Company, 60 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE Fifty-third Annual Meeting will be held at the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, on December 28, 29, and 30. The fact that this hotel contains a number of rooms with a seating capacity of a hundred or more has enabled the Program Committee to arrange a series of round tables. There will be round tables on the ten following subdivisions of history: ancient; medieval; early modern; later modern; English; Slavonic; Far Eastern; early American; later American; Latin-American. Those interested in a given subdivision will meet each morning in the same room at the same hour. At each of the thirty round tables there will be a single paper of a general nature on a debatable subject. Discussion from the floor will follow, led by a designated discussion leader and controlled by a chairman. The afternoons will be devoted to more general subjects and to joint sessions with the several affiliated societies. There will be a session to celebrate the sesquicentennial of the settlement of the Old Northwest and a debate between Professors Sidney B. Fay and Bernadotte E. Schmitt to commemorate the armistice of 1918. Other afternoon sessions will deal with methods of history, the philosophy of history, and the transition of culture. There will not be more than two papers at any of the afternoon sessions. If present plans materialize, a historical newsreel entitled *From Tsar to Lenin* will be shown after the session on methods of history. The evening sessions will be devoted to the Presidential Address and a discussion of urbanization at various stages of the world's development. Arrangements have been made for the usual luncheons and dinners of affiliated groups and a complimentary luncheon to be tendered jointly by the University of Chicago and Northwestern University.

"The Story Behind the Headlines" will be presented again this season as a radio program by the National Broadcasting Company and the American Historical Association. This series of weekly talks on the historical background of present-day events will come each Friday evening, beginning October 14, over the N. B. C. red network at 10:30. Mr. Cesar Saerchinger will again be the commentator and will make each talk in consultation with a historian, expert in the particular field of history treated in the talk. The

talks will be published weekly by the Columbia University Press, in *The Bulletin of the Story Behind the Headlines,* for sale at ten cents per copy or one dollar for the first thirteen numbers. Further information regarding the radio series and the *Bulletin* may be had by addressing Mrs. Evelyn Plummer Braun, Radio Committee Office, American Historical Association, 226 South Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia.

The following should be added to the *List of Research Projects in History, exclusive of Doctoral Dissertations,* published as a supplement to Volume XXXIX, No. 3, of the *American Historical Review:*

VII. France

Biography of Guizot. Prog. Elizabeth Parnham Brush, *Rockford College.*

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

As announced in our last issue, a list of the errata which have thus far been discovered in the *Dictionary of American Biography* is being prepared for publication. The director of the enterprise, Dr. Harris E. Starr, 182 Cold Spring Street, New Haven, would be glad to have reported to him any errors which readers of the *Review* may have noted. Authorities should be cited for any changes suggested.

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: copy of a narrative of Christopher Baron de Graffenried's voyage to America, 1711; photostat of the journal of Major General James Wolfe, May to August, 1759; additional photostats of the letters of George Washington; fifty-three papers of David Van Schaack, Henry Van Schaack, and (mainly) Peter Van Schaack, 1776 to 1841; additional papers of Alexander S. Palmer and Nathaniel B. Palmer, 1824-92; one volume of letters of Francis Granger, mainly to Thurlow Weed, 1825-38; transcript of certain pages of the journal of Colonel John Charles Frémont, January-February, 1849; photographic copies of two papers of Abraham Lincoln, 1860 and 1865; papers of Julius Goebel, 1873-1930; archives of the American Historical Association, 1882 to 1934; typewritten copies of twenty-three papers of Secretary Jeremiah McClain Rusk (mainly letters received), 1888-92; additional papers of Justin Smith Morrill; photostats of various letters of John Sherman; copy of a narrative of the sinking of the U. S. troop ship *Tuscania,* February, 1918; photostats of manuscripts in the British Public Record Office: (1) correspondence concerning the Northwest Boundary and the Island of San Juan, 1861-73; (2) correspondence between the British secretary of state for foreign affairs and the minister at Washington (Sir Edward Thornton), 1871; (3) the first volumes of the correspondence of the British members of the Joint High Commission which met at Washington in 1871.

Outstanding among the many collections received by the National Archives in recent months are those relating to the Revolutionary, Mexican, and Civil wars. Continental Army records, 1775-83, and the record books of volunteer regiments, 1846-48 and 1861-66, have been transferred from the War Department. The Treasury Department has transferred records concerning captured, abandoned, and confiscated property and the claims relating thereto, 1863-81, and Confederate treasury, customhouse, and court records, 1861-65. Other important accessions from the Treasury Department include accounting records of various sorts with series falling within the dates 1779-1922 and customhouse records, 1789-1816. The Office of Indian Affairs has now transferred nearly all its records through 1921 and some series extending through 1936. Records transferred by the Department of Agriculture include bodies of important correspondence from the Forest Service, 1888-1917, from the Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, 1878-1918, and from the Bureau of Plant Industry, 1891-1932.

The Louisiana State University Department of Archives has recently acquired private manuscript collections covering the period from 1750 to 1930 and containing approximately 6230 items: the Amiss collection, 488 items, 1770-1917, relating to the settlement and development of the Baton Rouge district; the diary of Harod C. Anderson of Haywood County, Tennessee, 3 volumes, 1854-88, containing plantation accounts, a daily journal showing the author's philosophy, religion, and reaction to social events of the time, and accounts of the author's opposition to secession and of President Cleveland's visit to Memphis; the Assumption parish collection, 50 items, 1841-1914; the David French and Thomas Duckett Boyd collections, 80 items, 1874-1922, containing information on the Louisiana State University compiled by two of its former presidents; Dr. Mark Carleton's collection, 2 volumes, 1883-1900, containing records of the United States Sugar Beet Experimental Station at Schuyler, Nebraska, and of experiments on growing cane by chemical selection, and a botanical specimen book; the College of the City of Baton Rouge collection, 4 volumes, 1837-41; the Citizens Bank of Louisiana collection, 11 items, 1851-55, including receipts of stock owners for payments of interest and installments; the Stephen Duncan collection of Natchez, Mississippi, 6 volumes and 113 unbound items, 1856-80, comprising assessors' lists, tax receipts, letters, statement of a scheme for running a plantation in Tensas parish with three hundred Chinese, copy of a contract for the Natchez cotton mills, statement of cotton claims, land deeds, journals of a trip abroad, cash and account books, and journals of plantation accounts; the important Favrot collection, covering the years 1795-97 in lower Louisiana, 148 items, 1758-1920; the J. D. Garland collection, 19 items, 1863-70, containing Civil War letters from the various camps in Louisiana; the Kate Garland collection of Petersburg, Virginia, 26 items, 1859-70, important for the interesting

diary of a school girl during the Civil War and after; the Koch collection of Logtown, Mississippi, 3100 items, 1820-1900, containing letters to and from members of the family, plantation documents, travel accounts, a great amount of material regarding the Civil War and Reconstruction in Mississippi, and much information on the lumbering business; the Jean Baptiste Landry collection of Assumption parish, 148 items, 1838-87, valuable for plantation records; the Montpelier Academy collection of St. Helena parish, 58 items, 1833-40; the Thomas Overton Moore collection, 632 items, 1832-77, containing the papers of the Civil War governor of Louisiana; the Port of New Orleans papers, 3 items, 1816-19; the New Orleans Academy of Science papers, 7 items, 1852-70; the Philharmonic Society collection of St. James parish, 12 items, 1875-76; the John Reid collection, 45 items, 1861-70, comprising material regarding the purchase of meat for soldiers during the Civil War; the Daniel D. Slousan collection of Port Hudson, Louisiana, 537 items, 1852-78, valuable for its information regarding medical care of soldiers during the war; the Sugar Planters Association collection, 200 items, 1907-1908, giving information about the operation of this organization in Louisiana. The Department of Archives has also acquired the official records of Caddo parish, 182,820 items, 1838-93; Catahoula parish, 51,180 items, 1810-1911; East Feliciana parish, 561,800 items, 1811-1931; and St. John the Baptist parish, 39,570 items, 1812-1924. Its largest collection is the official records of the State of Louisiana. This mass of material consists of approximately fifteen million items and covers the period 1800-1930.

The library of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has recently acquired a collection of about five thousand manuscript pieces of Western land tax receipts relating to Jay Cooke, Gibraltar Island, and western lands. In the collection are 550 autographed letters of Jay Cooke and 1461 items of associated material. There is a large amount of original material relating to western lands in which a number of states were concerned. Because of Jay Cooke's association with the government during the Civil War and his extensive interests in western lands, this collection will be of value to the research student in these phases of American history.

Recent accessions to the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission include: 251 manuscript volumes consisting of the leaf tobacco book of M. H. Pinnix and Company, place of business unknown; day books, ledgers, and other account books of the following general merchants: R. L. Davis and Brothers of Farmville, and Dildy and Agnew, Willis Edmundson, Howard-Williams Company, and P. L. Woodard Company, all of Wilson; photostats of North Carolina maps, 1780-1890; a number of Civil War pamphlets; and records of Wake County and Warren County.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has acquired a collection of several thousand letters by Charles Van Hise, noted scientist, conservationist, and president of the University of Wisconsin, written over a period of more than forty years, which constitute virtually a history of the university for those years as well as an autobiography of President Van Hise. His studies on pre-Cambrian rocks and the work of contemporary geologists in the United States are set forth in a group of twenty-five letter books and a corresponding amount of incoming letters of the Lake Superior Division of the United States Geological Survey (1882 to 1912), which during these years made and published detailed studies on the ore-bearing regions of upper Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Twenty-three letters written by William B. Cushing, one of the three Wisconsin Cushing brothers of Civil War fame and hero of the *Albemarle* and other naval engagements, contain vivid accounts of his life at the Annapolis Academy and on cruises, and of his participation in the war.

The Eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences was held in Zurich on August 28 to September 4, with an attendance of over a thousand historians from some fifty countries, including forty-eight from the United States. The representatives of the American Historical Association were Solon J. Buck, Harold Deutsch, Clyde L. Grose, John L. LaMonte, Waldo G. Leland, Albert H. Lybyer, and Waldemar Westergaard. At the meeting of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, held on the opening day of the congress, Waldo G. Leland, former secretary of the American Historical Association and executive director of the American Council of Learned Societies, was elected president of the committee for the five-year term 1938-43, succeeding Harold W. V. Temperley, master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. A special account of the congress will be published in the January issue of the *Review*.

The International Documents Service of the Columbia University Press has been implemented by the creation of the Council on International Publications with President Butler as honorary chairman, Professor Shotwell as executive chairman, and a membership drawn from those interested in the administration of libraries and archives as well as in their effective use. In addition to the distribution of the documents of the League of Nations, it is proposed to arrange for the distribution of publications which may serve as source material for the study of history, especially contemporary history. The plan is to concentrate on the publications of other than commercial publishers. Pamphlet literature, both American and foreign, will be surveyed and those titles listed which may prove of value to the student. It is recognized that not all of this literature can be covered by any one organization, but historians will be grateful for the effort to make

more readily available in this country the monographic studies of European specialists which are often difficult to secure.

The Hudson's Bay Record Society has recently been organized for the purpose of publishing the records in the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company. On payment of the annual subscription of one guinea or five dollars a year, members will be entitled to receive annually one volume of the records, publication of which will be made about October. The first volume to be published will consist of Sir George Simpson's *Athabasca Journal and Report, 1820-21,* with an introduction by Professor Chester Martin of Toronto University. All communications concerning this new organization should be addressed to the Hudson's Bay Record Society, 68, Bishopsgate, London, E. C. 2.

The Council of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, which has always taken a deep interest in the study of Scottish place names, has recently appointed a committee to carry through a plan of investigation by counties, the purpose being to provide an accurate list of place names, with their history, that will prove of service in the study of local history and in the correction of maps and charts. The work is already in progress, and for West Lothian the list has been completed by Dr. Angus Macdonald. Assistance in this effort will be welcomed. Communications should be addressed to the secretary, Royal Scottish Geographical Society, Synod Hall, Castle Terrace, Edinburgh.

Fragments of a *padrão* or stone column of possession, supposed to have been erected by Bartholomew Dias in 1488, have been discovered by Mr. Eric Axelson on False Island near the mouth of the Bushman River, about 50 miles east of Port Elizabeth, Union of South Africa. The discovery is described in the Johannesburg *Star* of February 9, 1938.

PERSONAL

A. E. Stamp, a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, who died in March, had been connected with the British Public Record Office since 1893. The historical work with which he was chiefly associated was the publication of the close rolls of Henry III. He was appointed secretary of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1912 and secretary of the Public Record Office in 1918. In 1926, on the retirement of Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, he became deputy keeper of the public records. He was largely responsible for the revival, after the war, of the Pipe Roll Society and was its treasurer at the time of his death. He was closely associated with the foundation of the British Records Association. American historical scholars who have worked in the Public Record Office have reason to be grateful to Mr. Stamp for his helpful interest in their investigations. His hearty

co-operation was of the greatest value to the European Mission of the Library of Congress. Though not himself a historian, his influence has been strong on the best lines of historical work.

On June 25 Friedrich Thimme, director emeritus of the Library of the Prussian Landtag, died in an Alpine accident. He was born in the Harz Mountains in 1868, studied history at Göttingen, and was head of the libraries, sucessively, of the City of Hanover, the Prussian Herrenhaus, and the Prussian Landtag. His earlier publications were dedicated to the history of Hanover and of Prussian reform. He was editor or coeditor of various volumes in the Friedrichsruh edition of Bismarck's collected works (1924 ff.), of the collected speeches of Miquel, Bennigsen, and Bethmann Hollweg, of the anti-Bülow symposium *Front wider Bülow* (1931), and of the memoirs of Count Monts (1932). He was ghost writer for more than one of the German postwar authors of memoirs and other *pièces justificatives,* including the ex-crown prince. During the World War, when he was close to Bethmann Hollweg, he entered upon a career of *Gelehrtenpolitik,* motivated by his constant ideal of *Burgfrieden,* internal peace, class conciliation; in the Fechenbach case, which amounted to a German postwar *Dreyfusade,* Dr. Thimme played by far the most honorable part. These activities ended only in 1933, when he was retired on a pension. His name became internationally known through his work on *Die grosse Politik.* For this publication the original initiative, as far as it is due to a single person, should be credited to the late A. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, but Dr Thimme contributed the actual labor of selecting and editing the documents. It was under his driving force that the series grew to proportions not planned in the beginning and took on a character which a later regime has begun to hate for its "suicidal" inclusiveness.

George Lincoln Burr, who died at Ithaca on June 27, was born at Oramel, New York, on January 30, 1857. As a boy he learned the trade of printer, by the practice of which he partly supported himself through school and college. Graduating from Cornell in 1881, he spent three years (1884-86 and 1887-88) in Leipzig, Paris, and Zurich. On his return in 1888 he was appointed to a position on the Cornell faculty, holding the chair of medieval history from 1892 to 1922. His teaching included the period of the Renaissance and Reformation, for he considered the sixteenth century more medieval than modern. (See his essay, "Anent the Middle Ages", in the *American Historical Review,* XVIII [1913], 710 ff.) From 1887 he was also librarian of the President White Library at Cornell, which he made one of the best collections of books in America and in some fields, notably in the history of superstition, the best in the world. In 1896 he was appointed historical expert on the commission appointed by President Cleveland to investigate the boundary between Venezuela

and British Guiana. His report, published in 1900, was useful in the arbitration that finally settled the dispute. In recognition of his services Burr was given the degree of LL.D. by the University of Wisconsin in 1904 and the degree of Litt.D. by Western Reserve University in 1905. From 1905 to 1916 he was associate editor of the *American Historical Review*. In 1916-17 he was president of the American Historical Association. Taking as the subject of his presidential address "The Freedom of History", he traced the history of freedom in this discipline (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXII, 253 ff.). His specialty was the history of superstition. *The Literature of Witchcraft* (1890) is a bibliography with some translations of sources. *The Fate of Dietrich Flade* (1891) reconstructs from manuscripts the trial and execution for the crime of witchcraft of an eminent citizen of Cologne. In *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases* (1913) Burr edited some of the sources for the history of witch-hunting in New England. When Henry Charles Lea died in 1909, his large unfinished manuscript history of witchcraft was turned over to Burr for editing. This exacting task was completed, with the aid of Professor Arthur Charles Howland, just before Burr's death, the work being now in the hands of the printers. Much of Burr's learning has gone into the books of others. In the preface to *A History of the Warfare of Science and Theology* Andrew D. White acknowledges his great debt to "the contributions, suggestions, criticisms, and cautions" of his pupil and dear friend. Professor E. M. Hulme has based his excellent textbooks, *The Middle Ages* and *The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution, and the Catholic Reformation*, on the outlines of Burr's lectures, with full and graceful expression of obligation. Hundreds of other scholars have been indebted to Burr for suggestion and criticism. There was in his nature an uncommon generosity that led him to give to others more, both of his income and of his great stores of learning, than he kept for his own use.

On July 7 an outstanding scholar in ecclesiastical law and history, Professor Emeritus Ulrich Stutz, died in Berlin at the age of seventy-one. His life followed the usual quiet and steady course of an eminent Continental scholar. Born in Zurich in 1868, he took his J.U.D. degree in Berlin, where he had been a disciple of Brunner, in 1892 with a thesis entitled *Die Verwaltung und Nutzung des kirchlichen Vermögens in den Gebieten des weströmischen Reiches*. He became a privatdozent in German and ecclesiastical law at the University of Basel in 1894 and was promoted to an associate professorship two years later. In 1896 he joined the law faculty of Freiburg as a full professor. In 1904 he went to the University of Bonn, and from there he was called in 1916 to the University of Berlin as professor of ecclesiastical law and history, thus obtaining the most prominent German chair in his field. Professor Stutz made some contributions to the doctrines of private law, but his principal work lay in the fields of ecclesiastical law

and legal history, where his productivity was almost unbelievable. He was one of the board of editors of the famous *Zeitschrift der Savignystiftung*, serving as editor both of the Germanistic division (since 1898) and the canonistic division, which he helped to found in 1911. Results of his indefatigable industry can be found in almost every volume of this periodical after he joined its editorial staff, in the form of articles, short notes, and book reviews. Professor Stutz's greatest scholarly accomplishment was the discovery that in the early Middle Ages churches were owned by various lords, temporal and spiritual, an institution which he designated as *Eigenkirche*. His views are now widely (though by no means universally) accepted with respect to the church history of Germany, northern Italy, Spain, France, and England. Maitland, with his great historical insight, caught at once the significance of Stutz's thesis, which he incorporated in his works with highest praise. Professor Stutz devoted many studies to different aspects of *Eigenkirche*, and even in his later years he gave much thought to his favorite topic. But he was greatly interested also in many other phases of ecclesiastical history and law, particularly with respect to Germany, and in general German legal history. His contributions, whether articles, notes, or book reviews, always reveal his masterful scholarship. Those who know only a part of his astonishing output will recognize that his death is a great loss to medieval scholarship. Though Professor Stutz was not a brilliant classroom teacher and was somewhat handicapped by his strong Swiss-Swabian accent, students who came in personal contact with him will cherish his memory.

On July 17 Professor Grover Clark of the University of Denver died at the age of forty-six. Born in Osaka, Japan, the son of missionaries, he received his A.B. degree from Oberlin College in 1914 and his M.A. from the University of Chicago in 1918. Returning to the Orient, he became, in 1921, the editor of the *Peking Leader*, the leading exponent of liberal foreign views in Northern China. On his return to the United States in 1930, he became a consultant on Far Eastern affairs for a number of organizations, including the Carnegie Endowment. With a sympathetic understanding of the problems of China, he wrote convincingly of its history and people, basing his works upon unremitting research. The title of one of his books, *The Great Wall Crumbles*, at once indicates the imaginative feeling of the author for the epochal change now taking place in the Orient. Perhaps his most solid contribution to recent history, however, is the original work which went into the volume, *The Balance Sheets of Imperialism*. The conclusion that imperialism pays at best only a limited number of exploiters in the exploiting country, summarized in the introduction to this volume, is given more popular statement in his other volume, *A Place in the Sun*. After a year in the department of history of Wellesley College, he joined the faculty of the University of Denver. For the last

three years he conducted the round table on Far Eastern questions at the Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Virginia.

Owen Wister, who died on July 21, contributed to the understanding of the American past largely through the medium of fiction. Mr. Wister, a grandson of the famous Fanny Kemble, was born in Philadelphia on July 14, 1860. He attended Harvard College, where he cemented a life-long friendship with Theodore Roosevelt, studied music in Paris, and graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1888. His interests were divided between music and law, but ill health prevented an active pursuit of either a musical or a legal career; an *Atlantic Monthly* essay on Beethoven and active participation in the fight on Franklin D. Roosevelt's plan for judicial reform constituted his contributions in these two fields. At the suggestion of Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, himself a distinguished novelist, Wister went west in search of health and literary material and returned with both. The best known of his books is *The Virginian,* published in 1902 and still popular. This was followed by a series of novels and sketches, among them the charming *Lady Baltimore,* which revealed a deftness and delicacy not to be found in the Western stories. At various times Mr. Wister tried his hand at more formal history: a biography of *Ulysses S. Grant,* an evaluation of *The Seven Ages of Washington,* and studies of the American Indian. Profoundly stirred by the World War and its aftermath, bitterly hostile to the neutrality policy of the Wilson administration, and deeply attached to Great Britain, Mr. Wister attempted to win public opinion to a better understanding of America's debt to England in three controversial tracts: *The Pentacost of Calamity, A Straight Deal or The Ancient Grudge,* and *Neighbors Henceforth.* His last book, *Roosevelt: The Story of a Friendship,* celebrated the virtues of his Harvard classmate.

Sir Stanley Leathes, who died on July 25 at the age of seventy-seven, exemplified the close relation between scholarship and the public service in Great Britain. He was a graduate and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and served as lecturer in history there from 1892 to 1903. An intimate friend of Lord Acton, who planned the *Cambridge Modern History,* he was one of the three general editors of that monumental work, his associates being Sir Adolphus Ward and Sir George Prothero, and contributed to it nine chapters, most of them on French history. In 1903 he became secretary of the British civil service commission, of which he was appointed a member in 1907 and first commissioner in 1920. His published writings include a three-volume work, *The People of England.*

On July 26 Henry Percival Biggar, chief archivist for Canada in Europe, died at his home in Worplesdon, Surrey. He was born at Carrying Place, Ontario, in 1872, graduated in arts from the University of Toronto in 1894, and continued graduate studies in Berlin, Paris, and Oxford. In 1905,

a few months after the late Sir Arthur Doughty had been appointed Dominion archivist, Dr. Biggar was selected to supervise the work being done by the Canadian Archives in Europe. This post he held until his death. The work involved persistent search for materials relating to Canadian history in the public and private archival collections in England and France and the direction of a considerable permanent staff of copyists in London and Paris. Dr. Biggar also found time to do a substantial amount of writing, mostly in the form of the editing of documents relating to the early French explorers in Canada, notably Cartier, Roberval, and Champlain. Besides a large number of magazine articles his works include the following: *Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534* (1911), *Voyages of Jacques Cartier* (1924), *A Collection of Documents relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval* (1930), *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* (6 vols., 1922-36), and *Early Trading Companies of New France* (1901). His writings always displayed a high degree of historical integrity. Many universities and learned societies honored him. His chief contribution to Canadian historical scholarship will be found in the great collection of British and French transcripts deposited in the Public Archives of Canada.

William H. Mace, who died on August 10 at the age of eighty-five, was best known as the author of textbooks in history, including *A Working Manual of American History* (1895), *Method in History* (1897), *A School History of the United States* (1904), and *American History for High Schools* (1925). *Washington, a Virginia Cavalier* and *Lincoln, the Man of the People* were among his other publications. Dr. Mace was professor of history in De Pauw University Normal School (1885-90) and professor of history and political science in Syracuse University (1891-1916). He held the degrees of B.L. and M.L. (University of Michigan), A.M. (Indiana University), Ph.D. (University of Jena), and LL.D. (Syracuse University).

The following appointments are noted: *Black Mountain College,* Walter C. Barnes of Smith College as associate professor; *Butler University,* Roy M. Robbins of Western Reserve University as associate professor; *Cornell University,* Knight Biggerstaff of the University of Washington as assistant professor; *Duke University,* Joseph C. Robert of Ohio State University as assistant professor and Thomas E. La Fargue, fellow at Yale University, as visiting assistant professor for the first semester of the current academic year; *Randolph-Macon Woman's College,* Howard Lewis Briggs as acting adjunct professor for the current academic year; *John B. Stetson University,* G. Leighton LaFuze of the National Archives as professor of history and political science; *University College of the University of London,* Dwight L. Dumond, who remains as associate professor in the University of Michigan, as a Commonwealth Foundation lecturer, his subject being "The Antislavery Movement as an Antecedent of the Civil

War"; *Western Reserve University,* Summerfield Baldwin as assistant professor in Mather College and George T. Hunt as assistant professor in Cleveland College.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *Colgate University,* Raymond O. Rockwood to be assistant professor; *University of Pittsburgh,* Oliver W. Elsbree to be associate professor.

The archivist of the United States announces the designation of Philip M. Hamer as chief of the Division of Reference and of Percy S. Flippin as chief of a newly established Division of Independent Agencies Archives. The Divisions of Accessions and Research, formerly headed by these men, have been abolished and their functions and personnel distributed among other divisions. Nelson M. Blake, Theodore R. Schellenberg, Paul Lewinson, and Oliver W. Holmes have been appointed chiefs, respectively, of the Divisions of Navy, Agriculture, Labor, and Interior Department Archives. Frank D. McAlister, chief of the Division of Justice Department Archives, has also become acting chief of the new Division of Legislative Archives. Other appointments include those of Vernon G. Setser, as assistant chief of the Division of Reference; and of Mrs. Natalia Summers, formerly chief of the Archives Section at the State Department, and Arthur E. Beach, also formerly of the State Department, to positions in the Division of State Department Archives. Harry R. Peterson has resigned his position in the Division of Navy Department Archives to accept the headship of the Department of Social Science, McKinley Senior High School, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Solon J. Buck, director of publications, has been designated as chairman of the United States delegation to the Fourteenth International Conference on Documentation at Oxford, England, on September 21-26. While he is abroad Dr. Buck expects to visit and observe the methods of various archival establishments in the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Switzerland, and England.

The following leaves of absence for the first semester are noted: *Northwestern University,* Clyde L. Grose; *University of Illinois,* J. G. Randall.

Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, Edwards Professor of American History in Princeton University, has been appointed Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor of American History in Oxford University for 1939-40. He will succeed Professor Robert McElroy.

Professor W. L. Ludlow, of the Department of Political Science and Sociology in Muskingum College, New Concord, Ohio, is preparing a biography of Washington Gladden. He would appreciate it if any persons who possess material bearing on the life of Gladden would communicate with him.